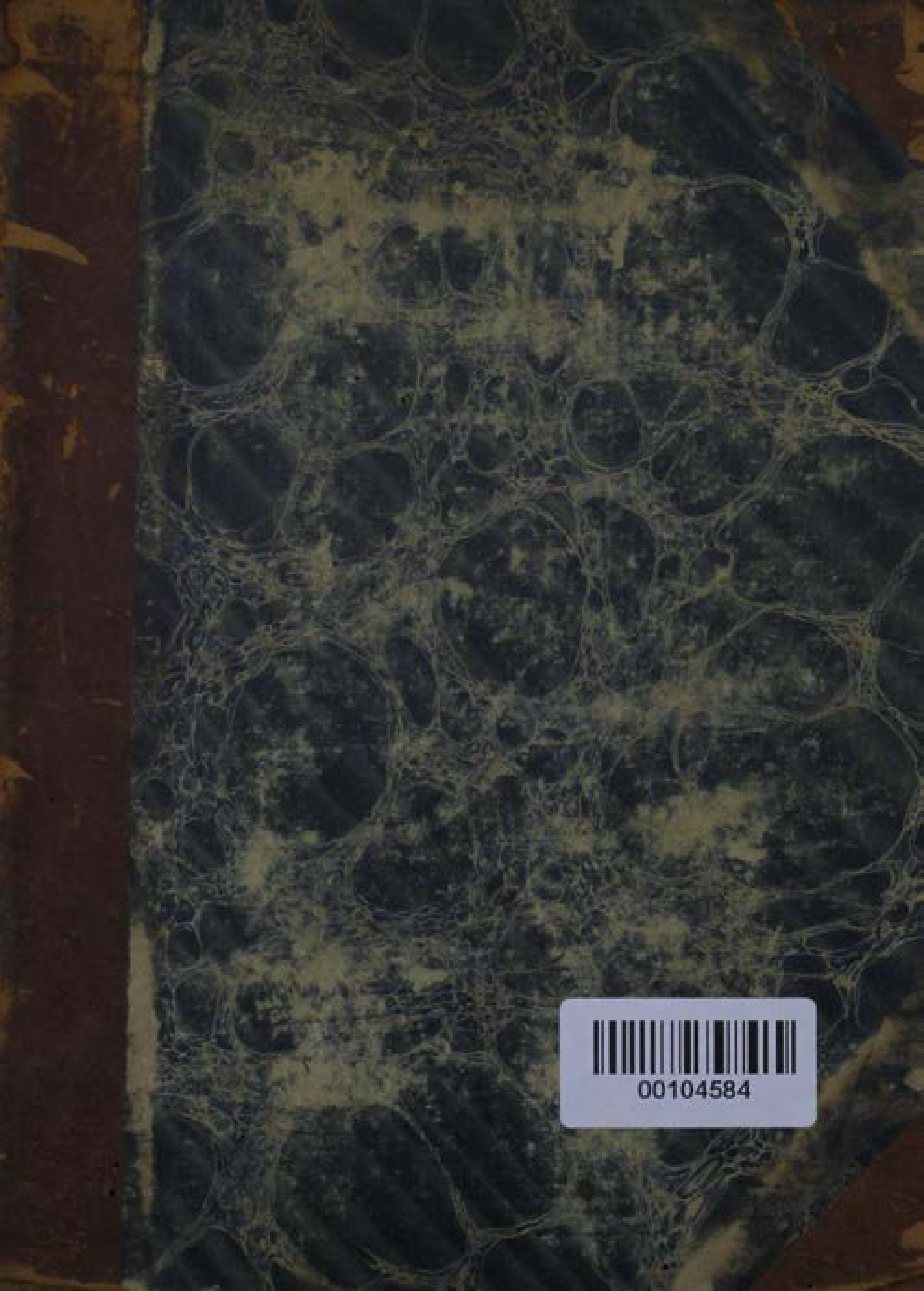
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BRITISH TRADE

OVER THE

CASPIAN SEA:

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JOURNAL of TRAVELS

FROM

LONDON through RUSSIA into PERSIA; and back again through RUSSIA, GERMANY and HOLLAND.

To which are added,

The revolutions of PERSIA during the present century, with the particular history of the great usurper NADIR KOULI.

In FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

By JONAS HANWAY, Merchant.

LONDON.

Sold by Mr. DODSLEY, in Pall-mall; Mr. NOURSE, Mr. MILLAR, Mr. VAILLANT, and Mr. PATTERSON, in the Strand; Mr. WAUGH, in Lombard-Street; and Mr. WILLOCK, in CORNHILL. MDCC LIII.

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To the WORSHIPFUL

ROBERT NETTLETON, Eſq;

GOVERNOR,

THE

CONSULS and court of ASSISTANTS of the RUSSIA COMPANY.

GENTLEMEN,

I Beg the favour of your acceptance of a treatiſe, which could not, with any degree of propriety, be otherwiſe addreſſed. Your company is one of the earlieſt and moſt ſucceſsful trading corporations eſtabliſhed in this nation. The famous SEBASTIAN CABOT, the father of our

diſtant navigation, and in ſome meaſure the founder of our empire in AMERICA, was the director of your company in the diſcovery of ARCHANGEL: this put us in poſſeſſion of our trade to RUSSIA, which has been ſince carried on with ſo great reputation. In our own time we find the ſame ſpirit of induſtry and enterprize, of which your late attempt over the CASPIAN ſea is an honourable proof. How that enterprize was conducted, and what various incidents attended it, as I had an opportunity of the moſt authentic information, corroborated by my own experience, I have indulged my inclination, and employed my leiſure in giving an account: with what fidelity this is done, you are the proper judges.

As this trade became an object of attention to the legiſlature upon your recommendation, and as the great hopes conceived of it were not entertained without juſt grounds; I preſume it will not be ungrateful to you, that the public ſhould know upon what principles you acted, and how beneficial your undertaking might have been to the nation. Though we have been foiled in this enterprize, the ſeas are open to us, and whilſt we continue MASTERS of them, they are our ſafeſt, and perhaps our only means of conveyance; for I believe, hiſtory can hardly furniſh an inſtance in theſe latter times, of a conſiderable trade being carried on by traverſing the dominions of a foreign prince.

The relation of profperous undertakings is the moſt agreeable task; but inſtruction, which is the great end of hiſtorical narrations, depends not upon the nature of events: it is not material whether they are favourable or not, but whether they be honeſtly and fairly ſtated, the true cauſes explored, and their influence diſcovered through the whole chain of effects. Perhaps future generations may have occaſion to refer to what has paſſed in our time, as we now look back to the days of queen ELIZABETH; and if circumſtances ſhould again render this trade practicable and advantageous to the nation, the experience we have lately bought, muſt neceſſarily be of great uſe.

If we call to mind that religious zeal with which you raiſed a fund for building a public place of worſhip at St. PETERSBURG; and your generous reſolution not to permit that the BRITISH nation ſhould be the only one in RUSSIA without this mark of honour and diſtinction; may it not be expected that the SUPREME BEING, who directs all events by his providence, will enable you either to revive your CASPIAN trade, or to ſtrike out ſome other branch more beneficial? The characteriſtic of a brave and commercial nation is to be ever purſuing ſomething uſeful to mankind. The world is not in all its known parts ſo familiar to us, but new channels of trade may be ſtruck out; nor is it ſo well civilized, but commerce may

gently

gently effect what the ſword cannot. You have my ſincere wiſhes that in all things proſperity may attend your endeavours, in your private, as well as corporate capacity. I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your moſt humble

London,
January, 1753.

and moſt obedient Servant,

Jonas Hanway.

INTRO-

INTRODUCTION.

THE glory and welfare of the BRITISH monarchy depending on the acquiſition and preſervation of trade, it becomes the duty of every ſubject to encourage this general deſign, and conſequently to endeavour to inſpire the minds of the people with ſuch ſentiments as promote induſtry, and reſtrain the growth of a luxurious and irregular manner of living. A peculiar accident of my life engaged me in the purſuit of commercial knowledge in a new path, which was that of trading to PERSIA over the CASPIAN ſea; but when I was initiated into this commerce, it ſeemed already devoted to ruin; nor was it in the power of all our ſkill and induſtry to ſupport this tender plant againſt the violence of thoſe rude ſtorms which inceſſantly blew upon it; ſo that it hardly began to bloſſom before it was blaſted.

To tranſmit ſome account of this to poſterity, may poſſibly be a means of recovering the trade, if future times ſhould render it practicable and advantageous; or at leaſt of preſerving the memory of this enterprize, and gratifying the curioſity of the more intelligent part of this nation, who know the importance of trade: for this commerce was propoſed to introduce the uſeful commodity of raw ſilk, the baſis of one of our moſt conſiderable manufactures, on the cheapeſt terms; and, which is ſtill more, in exchange for our manufactured wool, from which ſuch advantages are derived to GREAT BRITAIN.

Never any new trade was entered upon with more ſanguine hopes, or proſecuted with more laborious attention by ſeveral of the moſt eminent merchants of this metropolis; to which we may alſo add, ſcarce any commercial ſcheme has had a more powerful protection from great princes. It muſt be confeſſed, that taking all theſe advantages together, it had once ſo fair an appearance, that it dazzled the eyes of many, and engaged very clear heads, as well as honeſt hearts, in its cauſe.

Various

Various were the objections made againſt this commerce, with regard to the intereſt of other mercantile companies: ſome of the members of thoſe companies foretold its fate in general terms; but, as an inſtance of the fallacy of human wiſdom, the deſign was at length fruſtrated by means the leaſt, if at all ſuſpected; for could it be imagined that one, who engaged himſelf as a BRITISH factor in PERSIA, would engage alſo as a ſhipwright to NADIR SHAH?

When men have committed errors in life, it is common to ſuggeſt reaſons for them, as if they exiſted in their minds previous to their actions. I believe, Mr. ELTON, who had the chief merit in opening this trade, did not really foreſee the tendency of his engagement to NADIR SHAH, to which its deſtruction was in a great meaſure owing. If the RUSSIANS could have been ſuppoſed idle ſpectators of a PERSIAN naval power, or of a few trading ſhips on the CASPIAN ſea, Mr. ELTON certainly purſued one temporary means of ſtrengthening our intereſt with NADIR; but ſuch a ſuppoſition to him who knew the connection of things on that ſide, was weak if he did make it; and if he did not, his judgment which, in many inſtances, was very good, here certainly failed him. But to conſider the matter in a mercantile light only, what ſolid foundation could there be for the ſecurity of property under ſo tyrannical a government, as that of PERSIA; when a factor to merchants, engages as a ſervant to the crown, and becomes ſubject every day to be called to an account? This queſtion he hardly ever aſked, but ſuffered himſelf, the common failing of mankind, to be lulled into an eaſy ſecurity, by contemplating only the bright ſide of the proſpect. Had he acted with more conſiſtency, we certainly might have longer retained the countenance of RUSSIA, and longer ſupported our trade in the north of PERSIA: for ſo long as princes ARE on good terms, national compacts are not violated without very ſtrong reaſons, though eaſily cancelled when they ARE NOT.

When I left ENGLAND in 1743, I remember that Mr. RICHARD LOCKWOOD, a TURKEY merchant, diſcourſed with me to this effect: "Either you will teach the RUSSIANS how to trade, and then become an "object of their jealouſy, if you have ſucceſs in this enterprize; or you "will

"will be plundered in PERSIA; and in either caſe your trade cannot laſt "long." Experience has taught us, that his obſervation was juſt, and in ſome meaſure prophetical. It is certain, that in the many years experience of the TURKEY company, they never eſtabliſhed any factors in the northern provinces of PERSIA: they thought it more judicious to leave that riſque, as well as the profits ariſing from ſuch eſtabliſhment to the ARMENIANS; who uſed to bring the PERSIAN ſilk to them in SMYRNA and ALEPPO, as the RUSSIANS and ARMENIANS now bring great part of it to St. PETERSBURG. But the TURKEY company never had the ſame temptations as the RUSSIA merchants: they had no treaty with the TURKS, to provide for a ſafe paſſage to PERSIA, nor any invitations from the mouths of princes to enter upon the trade. Beſides, their BY-LAWS reſtrained their factors from ſending goods into PERSIA on their own account.

The parliament, by an act of 1749, now permits us to import raw ſilk from St. PETERSBURG in exchange for our woollen manufactures: and I hope ſome advantages will accrue from it to this nation. Some time muſt paſs before affairs in PERSIA will be ſufficiently reſtored to allow of any conſiderable export of raw ſilk from thence; however this is abundantly made up to us by the ſupplies we receive from other countries. The ballance of our RUSSIAN trade is uſually about a million of rubles* in favour of that empire. We import annually about two millions of RUSSIAN commodities, and export to the value of one in our own; the advantages by this act are ſtill encreaſed in favour of RUSSIA, and ought to give us the greater weight with them in the political ſcale.

I thought it beſt in the proſecution of this work, after the peruſal, and with the conſent of thoſe who were moſt intereſted, to introduce ſeveral of the material papers I received in the courſe of my correſpondency, of which indeed there are none of a private nature. This authentic method creates ſome repetitions, which however I have as much as poſſible avoided. Part of theſe papers, as they relate to the opening of this trade, have been already printed, and publiſhed at different times in detached pieces,

* 220,000l.

of which ſome were extremely incorrect, and none of them in any hiſtorical order.

Secrecy, or reſerve in commercial affairs, is often neceſſary; had this trade ſubſiſted, the circumſtances of it ought, I think, to have been kept private, for reaſons of intereſt; but now the ſame reaſons, joined to the duty we owe to poſterity, ſeem equally to require a preſervation of the memory of it. The public indeed has a right to be informed by what means we have loſt this branch of our commerce, after it had received ſuch diſtinguiſhed parliamentary protection.

I intended to have wrote a treatiſe on the CASPIAN trade only; but this work, for reaſons maturely conſidered, now becomes enlarged beyond my original deſign. With regard to my own adventures in PERSIA, they had naturally a place in my journal, or rather compoſe it: a great part of them have a neceſſary connection with the trade, and conſtitute the moſt amuſing incidents in this work. As to the converſation which I had with the PERSIANS, conſidering the diſtance of place and time, the revolutions and mortalities which have ſucceeded, and the ſubject of them, which wholly relates to NADIR SHAH; I concluded the concealment of their names, where nothing was ſaid in ſecret, might appear as an abſurd caution, rather than a religious regard to the duties of ſociety.

To illuſtrate the ſubject, I have introduced a chart of the CASPIAN ſea, with which captain WOODROOFE preſented me on his return from thence. This chart I eſteem very correct, and an improvement of that which PETER the GREAT ordered to be made by VANVORDEN, with regard to the ſoundings, and alſo the coaſt, as well as the eaſtern parts of that ſea, where WOODROOFE was ſent by the king of PERSIA to make the moſt minute obſervations. I have alſo made ſuch extracts from captain WOODROOFE's journal as I thought any ways material, and which from my own experience I have reaſon to believe are very true. If we ſhould ever navigate the CASPIAN again, they may be ſerviceable to us as traders, or if they prove of any uſe to the RUSSIANS, I ſhall receive an additional pleaſure.

The

The maps of the RUSSIAN dominions bordering on TARTARY were beſtowed on me by general TATTISCHEFF, who commanded the RUSSIAN forces on theſe frontiers. They were made ſome years after the account which Mr. ELTON gives of himſelf; but being relative to it, I had a double motive to make uſe of them. Other maps which I have yet ſeen of independent TARTARY are extremely defective: but it is more amazing that a country ſo much frequented as PERSIA, ſhould not be yet laid down with more exactneſs than it is. I ſpeak not only of the northern parts, but of the country in general; for we perpetually find places of conſequence mentioned in hiſtorical accounts, which in maps are blanks, or at beſt very erroneouſly placed.

The journals to KHIEVA through the parts of TARTARY on the eaſtern ſide of the CASPIAN ſea, is of undoubted authenticity, as well as of that on the weſtern coaſt; the former was related to me by one who made the journey, and confirmed by another of the ſame company; and the latter is the real rout of the RUSSIAN embaſſy in 1746, of which I received an exact map.

Writing may tranſmit a picture of a man's mind, but the pencil only can give us an idea of his perſon; I have therefore introduced the portraits of thoſe great perſonages of whom I make particular mention in my journal; nor have I ſpared any other embelliſhments, which I imagined might contribute to the ſatisfaction of the public.

The part of theſe volumes which conſiſts of a journal of travels, renders it next to impoſſible to avoid being the hero of my own ſtory, as the occaſions occur ſo often to mention my own actions and ſentiments; and indeed the nature of journals renders egotiſms unavoidable. I have endeavoured as much as poſſible to diveſt myſelf of prejudices, and from a conſciouſneſs of wiſhing well to mankind, have not been fearful of offending; though, by a compariſon of cuſtoms or opinions, my ſentiments may ſometimes have the air of ſatyr: but it is certainly by compariſon only that the beauty or defects of things appear.

When I was in PERSIA my curioſity led me to collect ſeveral anecdotes concerning the famous uſurper NADIR SHAH: I had the fortune to experience ſuch marks of his clemency, as the moſt polite CHRISTIAN countries can produce few parallels. This afforded me an opportunity of entering into the character of this extraordinary perſon; and as I found no regular and continued hiſtorical account of him, I reſolved to uſe my own papers, with the addition of ſuch as I could procure here and in RUSSIA. The proper baſis of ſuch a work, ſeemed to be the revolutions of PERSIA during this century, till the time in which he came to act ſo dreadful a part on the ſtage of life; this period takes in near thirty years, and includes the unhappy reign of HUSSEIN, and the invaſion of the AFGHANS. The account which we have hitherto had of this matter is imperfect: I ſhould not however have launched ſo deep, but that I found a FRENCH piece lately publiſhed, the author[b] of which has taken great pains in collecting the beſt materials. The original writers of tranſactions in the EAST have a peculiar propenſity to the marvellous: and EUROPEANS alſo, who have not been on the ſpot, are apt to give in to the ſame abſurdity. Thus I have endeavoured to rectify, as well from my own perſonal obſervation, and anecdotes, as from the general reaſon of things. It ought however to be remembered, that the genius of the EASTERN nations neceſſarily gives their hiſtory the air of romance. To convey an idea of the PERSIAN government, of which we have many intimations in the ſacred writings, I have prefixed to that volume a chronological abridgment, which, in one view, takes in the moſt material of the numerous revolutions from the foundation of that antient monarchy.

[b] M. CHARDIN.

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PART.

PART I.

THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS OF THE CASPIAN TRADE,

FROM 1553 TILL THE AUTHOR EMBARKS ON THE CASPIAN SEA IN 1743.

CHAP. I.

Attempts made by the firſt ENGLISH *adventurers towards opening a trade through* RUSSIA *into* PERSIA, *from* 1553 *to* 1581. *Letters wrote by* EDWARD VI. *and queen* ELIZABETH *on this ſubject; with ſome particulars relating to the* CASPIAN *trade in thoſe days.*

AS I have embarked in a deſign to write an hiſtorical account of the late BRITISH CASPIAN trade, which is interwoven with a multiplicity of intereſting and amuſing circumſtances; it will not, I think, be foreign to my ſubject to trace matters from the earlieſt times, and exhibit in a ſummary way the attempts formerly made towards eſtabliſhing a commerce of this kind, with the difficulties and interruptions it met with till the year 1738, at which period the enſuing narration properly commences.

The opening a trade over the CASPIAN ſea to PERSIA, has ever ſince the diſcovery of ARCHANGEL by the ENGLISH, been conſidered as capable of producing ſo many advantages to this nation, that attempts were made towards obtaining a ſhare in it, ſo early as the very eſtabliſhment of our RUSSIA company. With regard to the ſeveral events which happened to our firſt adventurers, though they are not the immediate ſubject of this relation, yet as they are viſibly connected with, and explanatory of it, I ſhall give ſome few particulars with which the reader will have no reaſon to be diſpleaſed. For it cannot be a vulgar entertainment to the benevolent, whoſe hearts are capable of improvement from the examples of our generous anceſtors, to learn WHEN and BY WHOM the diſcovery was firſt made, that opened a way to the commerce which is the ſubject of theſe papers.

This amiable ſpirit of enterprize which animated our countrymen, firſt prevailed in 1553, being the ſeventh and laſt year of the reign of EDWARD VI. This prince then wrote his letter miſſive in GREEK, and ſeveral other languages, recommending Sir HUGH WILLOUGHBY and Mr. RICHARD CHANCELER, with their company, to the protection of the princes and rulers of the earth, but intended more particularly to thoſe of the ſouth eaſt parts of the globe. Modern ages of refinement and ſuperior knowledge of the world, have rendered ſuch applications romantic, if not ridiculous; but this was not the caſe in thoſe times, nor can we with any conſiſtency withhold our commendation of that pious and ſimple, as well as military and commercial genius, on which our forefathers erected thoſe monuments of knowledge, riches, and glory, which have been ſince carried to ſo prodigious a height. Upon theſe principles, the following letters muſt afford ſome pleaſure to the intelligent and curious reader.

" EDWARD the ſixt, by the grace of GOD, king of ENGLAND, " FRANCE, and IRELAND, &c. To all kings, princes, rulers, " judges, and governours of the earth, and all other hauing any excellent " dignitie on the ſame, in all the places under the uniuerſal heauen: peace,

" tran-

" tranquilitie, and honour, be unto you, and your lands and regions, which " are under your dominions, and to euery of you, as is conuenient.

" Forasmuch as the great, and almightie God, hath given unto man- " kind, above all other living creatures, such a heart, and desire, that e- " uery man desireth to ioyne friendship with other, to loue, and be loued, " also to giue and receiue mutual benefites: it is therefore the dutie of all " men, according to their power, to maintaine and increase this desire in " euery man, with well deseruing to all men, and especially to shewe this " good affection to such, as being moued with this desire, come unto " them from farre countreis. For howe much the longer uoyage they " have attempted for this intent, so much the more doe they thereby de- " clare that this desire hath bene ardent in them. Furthermore also, the " examples of our fathers and predecessors doe invite us hereunto, foras- " much as they haue euer gently and louingly intreated such as of " friendly minde came to them, as well from countreis neare hand, as " farre remote, commending themselves to their protection. And if it be " right and equitie to shewe such humanitie toward all men, doubtlesse " the same ought chiefly to be shewed to Marchants, who wandering a- " bout the world, search both the land, and the sea, to carry such good " and profitable things, as are found in their countreis, to remote regions " and kingdomes; and againe to bring from the same, such things as they " find there, commodious for their own countreis: both as well, that the " people, to whom they goe, may not be destitute of such commodities " as their countries bring not foorth to them, as that also they may be par- " takers of such thinges, whereof they abound. For the God of heauen " and earth, greatly providing for mankinde, would not that all things " should be founde in one region, to the ende that one shoulde haue " neede of another; that by this meanes friendshippe might be establish- " ed among all men, and euery one seeke to gratifie all. For the establish- " ing and furtherance of which uniuersall amitie, certaine men of our " realme, moued hereunto by the saide desire, have instituted and taken " upon them a uoyage by sea into farre countreis, to the intent that be-

" tweene our people and them, a way may be opened to bring in, and " carry out marchandizes, deſiring us to further their enterprize. Who aſ- " ſenting to their petition, haue licenſed the right valiant and worthy Sir " HUGH WILLOUGHBY, knight, and other our truſtie and faithfull ſer- " vants, which are with him according to their deſire, to goe to coun- " treies to them heretofore unknowen, as well to ſeeke ſuch things as we " lacke, as alſo to carry unto them from our regions, ſuch things as they " lacke. So that hereby not onely commoditie may enſue both to them and " us, but alſo an indiſſoluble and perpetual league of friendſhip be eſta- " bliſhed betweene us both, while they permit us to take off their things, " ſuch whereof they have abundance in their regions, and we againe " grant them ſuch things of ours, whereof they are deſtitute. We there- " fore deſire you kings and princes, and al other to whome there is any " power on the earth, to permit unto theſe our ſervants, free paſſage by " your regions and dominions: for they ſhall not touch any thing of " yours unwilling unto you. Conſider you that they alſo are men. If " therefore they ſhall ſtand in neede of any thing, we deſire you of all " humanitie, and for the nobilitie which is in you, to aide and helpe them " with ſuch things as they lacke, receiving againe of them ſuch things as " they ſhall be able to give you in recompence. Shew yourſelves ſo to- " wards them, as you would that we and our ſubiects ſhould ſhewe our- " ſelves towards your ſervants, if at any time they ſhall paſſe by our re- " gions.

" Thus doing, we promiſe you by the GOD of all things that are con- " tained in heaven, earth, and the ſea, and by the life and tranquilitie of " our kingdomes, that we will with like humanitie accept your ſervants, " if at any time they ſhall come to our kingdomes, where they ſhall as " friendly and gently be entertained, as if they were borne in our domi- " nions, that we may hereby recompence the favour and benignitie which " you have ſhewed to our men. Thus after we have deſired you kings " and princes, &c. With all humanitie and favour, to entertaine our well- " beloued ſervants, we will pray our almightie GOD, to grant you long life,

" life, and peace, which never ſhall haue end. Written in LONDON, which " is the chiefe City of our kingdome, in the yeere from the creation of the " world 5515, in the month of JIAR *, the fourteenth day of the " month, and ſeventh yeere of our raigne."

The fleet ſent out upon this diſcovery, in conſequence of the king's letter, conſiſted of the BONA ESPERANZA, the EDWARD BONAVENTURE, and the BONA CONFIDENTIA, all under the Command of Sir HUGH WILLOUGHBY, as captain-general. It was this gentleman's fate, in company with the crew of the BONA ESPERANZA, to be frozen to death the ſame year in LAPLAND; but RICHARD CHANCELER, who commanded the EDWARD BONAVENTURE, had the happineſs to make a diſcovery of ARCHANGEL, from whence he was conducted to Moſco, and there received with ſingular marks of diſtinction by the great duke IVAN WASSILOWITZ, who accepted the offer of commerce, and returned a favourable anſwer to the king's letter.

The next material incident was in 1555, when a treaty with the great duke, ſometimes called emperor of RUSSIA, was made; by which he granted ample privileges to the ENGLISH merchants trading to RUSSIA; and the ſame year, king PHILIP and queen MARY honoured them with a charter. The next year OSEP NAPEOFF, the RUSSIAN ambaſſador, came into ENGLAND. In 1557, ANTHONY JENKINSON paſſed through RUSSIA into BOKHARA, which he was very quickly obliged to leave; the king of SAMARCAND having invaded that country. He found that the PERSIAN trade lay moſt on the ſide of SYRIA, and the frontiers of TURKEY. After variety of fortunes and difficulties, which have a very remarkable analogy with thoſe of the time of which I am now writing, he returned home by way of CASAN on the VOLGA, in 1560, having firſt had the honour of hoiſting the red croſs of St. GEORGE, or the royal banner of ENGLAND on the CASPIAN ſea.

* JIAR is the month of febreary.

In

In 1561, being encouraged by the merchants adventurers, the ſame JENKINSON went into PERSIA, having procured a letter from queen ELIZABETH, now in the third year of her reign, to the Shah, TÆHMAS, the king of that country, which, for its ſingular ſpirit and ſimplicity, I alſo beg leave to inſert.

" ELIZABETH, by the grace of GOD, queene of ENGLAND, &c. To " the right mightie, and right uictorious prince, the great SOPHIE, " emperor of the PERSIANS, MEDES, PARTHIANS, HYRCANES, " CARMANARIANS, MARGIANS, of the people on this ſide, and be- " yond the river of TYGRIS, and of all men and nations between the " CASPIAN ſea and the gulph of PERSIA, greeting, and moſt happie " increaſe in all proſperitie.

" By the goodnes of the almightie GOD, it is ordayned, that thoſe people, " which not onely the huge diſtance of land, and the invincible widenes " of ſeas, but alſo the uery quarters of the heauens doe moſte farre ſepa- " rate and ſette aſunder, may nevertheleſſe through good commendation " by writing, both eaſe, and alſo communicate between them, not onely " the conceiued thoughts, or deliberations, and gratefull offices of huma- " nitie, but alſo many commodities of mutual intelligence.

" Therefore, whereas our faithfull, and right well beloved ſervant AN- " THONIE JENKINSON, bearer of theſe our letters, is determined, with " our licenſe, favour, and grace, to paſſe out of this our realme, and by " GODS ſufferance to travel even into PERSIA, and other your juriſdicti- " ons: we minde truely with our good fauour, to ſette forward, and ad- " uance, that his right laudable purpoſe: and the more willingly, for that " this his enterpriſe is grounded upon an honeſt intent, to eſtabliſh trade " of merchandize with your ſubiects, and with other ſtrangers traffiking " your realmes.

" Where-

" Wherefore, we have thought good, both to write to your maieſtye, " and alſo to deſire the ſame to vouchſafe at our requeſt, to grant to " our ſaide ſervant, ANTHONIE JENKINSON, good paſports, and ſafe " conducts, by meanes, and authoritie whereof, it may be free, and lawfull " for him, together with his familiars, ſervants, cariage, merchandize, " and goods whatſoever, through your realmes, dominions, juriſdictions, " and prouinces, freely, and without impeachment, to journey, goe, paſſe, " repaſſe, depart, and tarry ſo long as he ſhall pleaſe, and from thence to " returne, whenſoever he or they ſhall thinke good. If theſe holye duties " of entertainment, and ſweete offices of naturall humanitie, may be wil- " lingly concluded, ſincerely embraced and firmely obſerued, betweene us, " and our realmes, and ſubiects, then we doe hope, that the almightie " GOD will bring it to paſſe, that of theſe ſmall beginings, greater mo- " ments of things ſhall hereafter ſpring, both to our furnitures and ho- " nors, and alſo to the great commodities and uſe of our peoples: ſo it " will be knowen, that neither the earth, the ſeas, nor the heauens, haue " ſo much force to ſeparate us, as the godly diſpoſition of natural hu- " manitie, and mutuall beneuolence, haue to ioyne us ſtrongly together. " GOD grant unto your majeſtie, long and happie felicitie in earth, and " perpetuall in heauen. Dated in ENGLAND, in our famous citie of " LONDON, the 25. day of the month of Aprill, in the yeere of the " creation of the world 5523, and of our lord JESUS CHRIST, 1561, " and of our raigne the third.".

Having procured an introduction into PERSIA, JENKINSON returned home without any remarkable ſucceſs. In 1557 the TURKS conquered the weſtern coaſts of the CASPIAN ſea, and, in a great meaſure, prevented the advancement of that commerce which the merchants naturally flattered themſelves would happen, in conſequence of the favourable decree obtained by JENKINSON from ABDALLAH KHAN, then king of SHIRVAN and HIRCANIA, which laſt we now call GHILAN; but SHIRVAN was then the reſidence of our factory. Several ENGLISH ſubjects were employed in this traffic, of whom one THOMAS ALCOCKE was murdered in PERSIA.

After-

Afterwards CHRISTOPHER BURROUGH went into PERSIA in 1579, and returned home in 1581. He built a veſſel on the VOLGA at NIEZANOVOGORODE, in which he tranſported ſeveral kinds of merchandize as far as BAKU. At NIEZABAD his veſſel was ſtranded, and great part of his cargo loſt. At DERBEND he ſold a part of his goods to the TURKS, and bought another veſſel to bring home his returns of raw ſilk; but either through want of experience, or conſtrained by neceſſity, he came to RUSSIA ſo late as the month of november, which occaſioned his ſhip being cut to pieces by the ice: the cargo however was ſaved in a boat, which floating out to ſea with the ice, and being in great danger of periſhing, was at length frozen up. The crew left the boat and her cargo, and went in ſearch of aſſiſtance, but loſing their way their lives were much endangered by hunger, as well as by a ſhower of arrows from a flying party of NAGAI tartars. At length they had the good fortune to bring their cargo ſafe to ASTRACHAN, and thus ended the BRITISH CASPIAN commerce.

Occaſional voyages have been ſince made by BRITISH ſubjects, under the RUSSIAN protection in the cloſe of the laſt century, but not with any view of eſtabliſhing a trade, ſo that I ſhall paſs them over in ſilence, as not material.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Monſieur DE THOU's *remarks upon the* ENGLISH *trade into* PERSIA *in the days of queen* ELIZABETH. FREDERICK *duke of* HOLSTEIN's *embaſſy in* 1633. *Antient* RUSSIAN *and* ARMENIAN *trade over the* CASPIAN. PETER THE GREAT *marches an army into the northern provinces of* PERSIA; *and endeavours to eſtabliſh a large trade with that country.*

TO corroborate the authorities already mentioned, I muſt beg leave to inſert a paſſage concerning this ſubject, from the celebrated Monſieur DE THOU, who after relating the eſtabliſhment of a company in LONDON to trade to MUSCOVY, adds, "That the profits of that company were immenſe, by reaſon that in queen ELIZABETH's reign the "ENGLISH had the excluſive privilege of importing all manner of foreign commodities into RUSSIA. By this privilege they were encouraged "to viſit more carefully the ſeveral provinces of that vaſt empire, which "was the means of their diſcovering, that by aſcending the DWIENA "they might tranſport goods as far as WOLOGDA, and from thence in "ſeven days by land to YERISLAW, from which place they might ſail "down the VOLGA, in thirty days and nights to ASTRACHAN.---Encouraged by this ſucceſs, the ENGLISH built a ſhip to navigate the "CASPIAN ſea, which they found full of ſhallows. After croſſing the "CASPIAN they entered into MAZANDERAN, and the deſerts of KHORAZAN, alſo to the extremity of MEDIA, and proceeded as far as "TAVRIS and CASBIN. Such happy beginnings gave them reaſon to "hope that they ſhould diſcover the way to CATHAY [b], but the war "which broke out between the TURKS and PERSIANS, hindered them "from puſhing on their diſcoveries, and defeated their moſt ſanguine expectations."

[b] The countries to the eaſtward of KIEVA and BOKHARA.

In 1626, ſir ROBERT SHIRLEY was ſent ambaſſador from the ENGLISH court to ABAS THE GREAT, king of PERSIA. The honourable impreſſions which the PERSIANS early entertained of this nation, may be deduced from the declaration made to that ambaſſador by this potent prince, the moſt renowned of the PERSIAN kings, viz. "That he wiſh'd "the chriſtian princes would not wage war againſt each other, for he was "ſenſible, their common enemy the TURK took great advantages from "thence; tho' by the many defeats he had given the TURKS, he had con-"vinced the world of the ſuperiority of the PERSIAN arms.---That he "would deliver in GAMBROON [c] 10,000 bales of ſilk, and take the value "in ENGLISH cloth for which if he could not find a market in his own "kingdom, he would diſpoſe of part to his neighbours; for he ſhould "be greatly pleaſed to deprive the TURK of the yearly cuſtoms which "he received from the PERSIAN kiervans [d], which go to the foreign "markets in ALEPPO; a profit which he knew to be ſo conſiderable, "that the janizaries were ſupported by it, and conſequently that it ſup-"plied his enemies with force to fight againſt him.—That he eſteemed "the king of GREAT BRITAIN as the head of the worſhippers of "JESUS CHRIST, and ſhould be extremely glad of his friendſhip." It muſt be remembered, that both the PERSIANS and TURKS did in thoſe days receive ſuch advantages from their commercial intercourſe, that by mutual agreement caravans were ſuffered to paſs unmoleſted, during the long and inveterate wars which ſubſiſted between thoſe two nations.

The FRENCH formed a deſign of opening a trade from ARCHANGEL over the CASPIAN ſea, in the beginning of the laſt century, as well as in this, of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak; but it does not appear that they carried either into execution.---This indeed is certain, that FREDERICK duke of HOLSTEIN in the year 1633, ſent a very pompous and expenſive embaſſy to Shah SHEFIE. After enduring many

[c] Suppoſed to be meant bales of ſeven batmans of 12 ½ lb. ENGLISH, not 25 batmans, as now in uſe.

[d] The moſt correct writing is kiervan, commonly called caravan; but as this laſt word is ſo well adopted with us, I ſhall prefer it.

hard-

hardſhips and ſufferings, the embaſſadors were ſhipwrecked on the weſtern coaſts of the CASPIAN ſea; and being landed in PERSIA they alſo met with a variety of no leſs remarkable diſaſters. I do not find that this embaſſy had any effect with regard to the raw ſilk of the northern provinces of PERSIA, though it may be preſumed that the duke had formed a ſcheme of obtaining an ample ſupply of this valuable commodity, for his own manufactures in HOLSTEIN.

After the RUSSIAN grand duke ALEXIS MICHAELOWITZ had recovered ASTRACHAN out of the hands of the TARTATS, we find a large quantity of ENGLISH and DUTCH cloths bought by the RUSSIANS and ARMENIANS in ARCHANGEL, for what they called the ASTRACHAN trade.---For when this place fell into their hands, being ſo advantagiouſly ſituated, it ſoon became a conſiderable mart, the TARTARS from ſeveral parts of thoſe vaſt countries which ſurround it, reſorting thither for EUROPEAN commodities. Their trade was carried over the CASPIAN into PERSIA, in thoſe wretched veſſels which the RUSSIANS at that time built on the VOLGA; for PETER THE GREAT was then in the infancy of his power, and the EUROPEAN manner of building ſhips had not as yet been introduced into RUSSIA.

For a great length of time we do not find that the RUSSIAN navigators went farther than NIEZABAD, from whence they exported the ſilk of SHIRVAN.---This trade was however frequently interrupted, both on the VOLGA, and on the coaſt of the CASPIAN, by the KOOBAN and NAGAY TARTARS, as well as by the COSSACKS and RUSSIAN pirates.---SHAMAKEE, the capital of SHIRVAN, on the weſtern coaſt of the CASPIAN, was the reſidence of the RUSSIAN merchants, where they drove a conſiderable trade.---But the LESGEES having invaded PERSIA, and plundered SHAMAKEE in 1712, YEVREINOFF, a RUSSIAN merchant, loſt near 200,000 crowns. This accident ſo diſcouraged the RUSSIAN traders, that they almoſt quitted the field to the ARMENIANS, who were more enterprifing in commerce, as well as more reſolute in defending their property.

But how great ſoever the encouragements this nation might have from the PERSIANS, we had not leſs from RUSSIA, in conſequence of the ſervices that nation had received from us, and the natural connection we had with it.---The czar PETER thought none had ſo good a right to a commerce through his country to PERSIA as the ENGLISH, and had conceived hopes of making it conſiderable enough to engage our attention.---His ſolicitude in purſuing this ſcheme was ſo great, that he publiſhed a decree in 1718, permitting all foreigners, as well as his own ſubjects, to import raw ſilk into his dominions from PERSIA, or from any of the countries to the caſtward of RUSSIA; but I could never learn that this had any effect, becauſe foreigners thought the conveyance dangerous, if not impracticable, and none but ARMENIANS or RUSSIANS were ſettled in the northern parts of PERSIA, with a view to carry on this trade.

TAHMAS, the lawful heir of the PERSIAN diadem, being driven into KHORASAN by the invaſion of MAHMUD* and his AFGHANS, after the death of his father ſultan HUSSEIN, who was ſlain by thoſe rebels; he invited PETER THE GREAT, in 1722, to come to his aſſiſtance.---The czar accordingly made prodigious preparations, and marched a great army along the weſtern coaſt of the CASPIAN, with which he proceeded in perſon as far as DERBEND.---It is more than probable that ſo wiſe a prince would not have undertaken ſuch an expedition, but in purſuit of his favourite plan, of directing the courſe of the ſilk trade through his country.---Indeed he had been flattered into a perſuaſion that the LESGEE TARTARS would ſubmit to him; but on the contrary they harraſſed the RUSSIAN army exceedingly, and rendered their march along the coaſt as dangerous as it was fatiguing.---Beſide the weſtern coaſt of the CASPIAN, the czar took poſſeſſion of great part of GHILAN; but the peaſants of that country neglected their ſilk, ſo that very little of this commodity could be procured from them. The warmth and dampneſs of GHILAN, together with the unwholſome fruits, rendered that province the grave of the RUSSIANS; for which reaſon the empreſs ANNE very prudently con-

* The ſon of MIR VAIS, chief of CANDAHAR.

ſented

ſented to evacuate the country in 1734, without drawing any advantage from it.

To return to PETER THE GREAT. A few months before his death he requeſted in a particular manner of an ENGLISH merchant[1], then on his departure for ENGLAND, to treat with the merchants in LONDON, about opening a trade through his country to PERSIA; but this prince did not foreſee all the difficulties attending the undertaking, though he was ſenſible of many of them.---His death however put an end to the enquiry at that time; and the apprehenſions the BRITISH merchants then conceived of the dangers which the trade would be expoſed to, proved a hindrance to the attempt, till the year 1738, when an unexpected incident happened, which opened a new ſcene of commercial adventures.

CHAP. III.

Mr. ELTON's *propoſal in* 1738, *to the* ENGLISH *factors in St.* PETERSBURG, *to open a trade through* RUSSIA *into* PERSIA.---*Mr.* ELTON's *employment in the* RUSSIAN *ſervice, in* 1735, *till his journey into* PERSIA *in* 1739.

SUCH was the ſituation of affairs, with regard to the CASPIAN commerce, when Mr. JOHN ELTON, who had been bred to the ſea ſervice, made a propoſal in 1738, to ſome of the BRITISH factors in St. PETERSBURG, to carry on a trade through RUSSIA into PERSIA, by way of the CASPIAN ſea. As this gentleman makes a conſiderable figure in theſe papers, the reader, in all probability, will be curious to have ſome account of him, and of the motives which induced him to engage in this under-

[1] Mr. RICHARD MAINWARING.

taking.

taking.---I ſhall therefore, to gratify ſo reaſonable a curioſity, inſert the following account, extracted from that which he gave of himſelf to the BRITISH merchants, at the time of his making this propoſal.

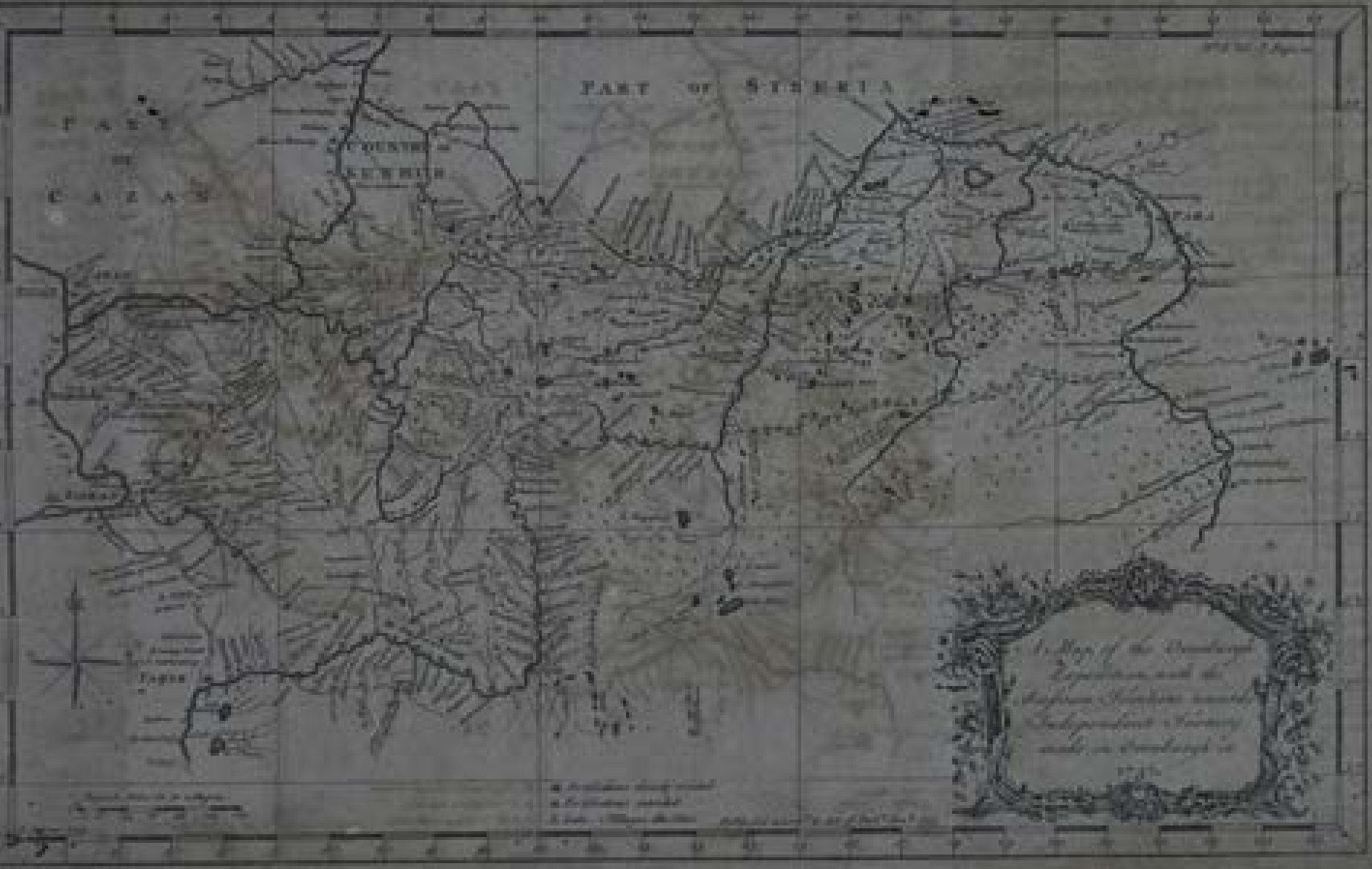
In the beginning of the year 1735, Mr. ELTON was ſent by the court of RUSSIA to aſſiſt in the ORENBURG expedition in the rank of a ſea captain.---This expedition was commanded by general WASSILLIE NEKIETISH TATTISCHEFF, and was intended to eſtabliſh an effectual barrier againſt the TARTARS, and, in ſome meaſure, to aſcertain and cover the ſouth eaſt frontiers of the empire, by building fortifications, and making ſmall ſettlements on the rivers SAMARA, and YAEIK; and, at the ſame time, to open a communication betwixt the city of SAMARA on the river VOLGA, croſs the STEP [a] quite to SIBERIA, the diſtance of about 800 ENGLISH miles. Theſe fortifications are at ſeveral diſtances from 20 to 40 RUSSIAN verſts, according to the maps inſerted, with garriſons of 100, 200, or 300 men; but theſe ſettlements are not yet all made [b].

This it was preſumed would give a check to the inroads of the neighbouring TARTARS, particularly the KIERGEESE, and, in time, become a means of civilizing them.---It was alſo imagined, that a ſafe road through their country to the great and leſſer BOKHARA, might be diſcovered from ſome of theſe new ſettlements. In order to accompliſh this end, it was reſolved that captain ELTON ſhould be ſent to explore and examine the lake ARAL, which lies to the eaſtward of the CASPIAN; but he could never penetrate thither, being prevented by the inteſtine broils which then broke out among the BASKIERKIE TARTARS, who though they have been reputed ſubjects to the empire of RUSSIA above a hundred years, yet, within that period, have frequently rebelled. So that Mr. ELTON being diſappointed in this deſign, employed himſelf whilſt he continued

[a] The common name in RUSSIA for a deſert country.

[b] The reader will obſerve what countries border on theſe ſettlements, by the two charts, N° II. and III. annexed, which are part of a manuſcript map, but being of a very large ſize, I have divided it into three.

in


PART OF SYBERIA
PART OF CAZAN

PART of the COUNTRY
PART of the COUNTRYS of ARIM and KYTAK
of EXYSEISK
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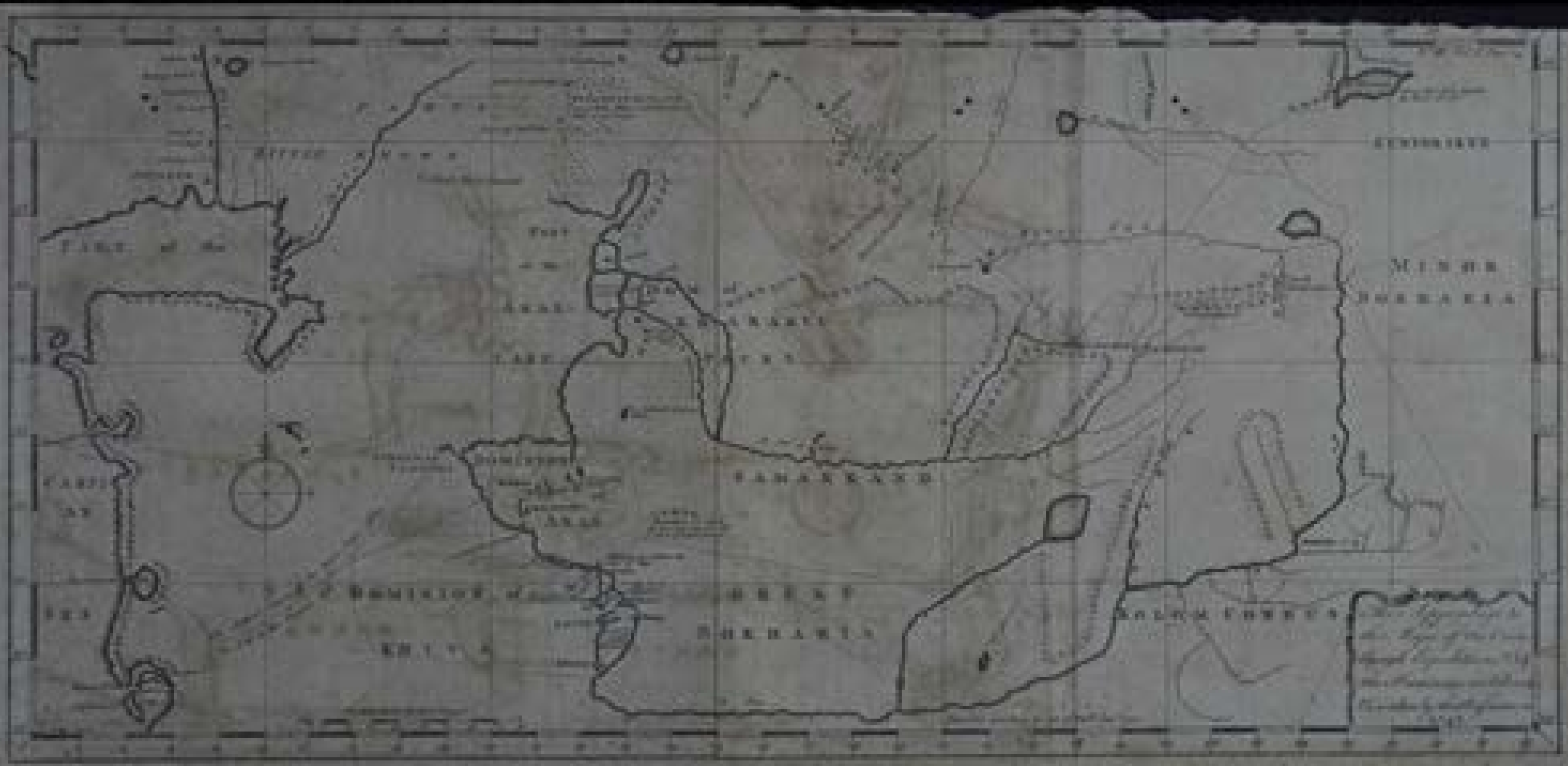
TOMSK
CRASNOARSK
COUNTRY of KYZNETSK



in the RUSSIAN ſervice, during the ORENBURG expedition, in laying down ſome part of the great rivers, BELLA, KAMA, VOLGA, and YAEIK, and ſeveral conſiderable rivers that fall into them; and in drawing a geographical map of the ſouth eaſt frontiers, from the ſprings of the YAEIK, which riſe out of the mountains on the confines of SIBERIA.---He traced that river to the city of YAEIK, through its courſe of near 600 ENGLISH miles; and from YAEIK, to the city of SAMARA, which is 150 ENGLISH miles, all through a deſert.

In this manner he ſpent four years, which afforded him a conſtant opportunity of converſing with the different ſorts of roving TARTARS, who inhabit thoſe vaſt and uncultivated countries that lye betwixt BOKHARA and the weſtern boundaries of SIBERIA; andlikewiſe with the SARTS, who are civilized trading TARTARS, and live in BOKHARA, and in the other cities to the eaſtward.---Of theſe there are conſiderable numbers, who annually croſs the STEP, from the cities of KHIEVA and BOKHARA, as well as from TORCUSTAND, TASHKUND, KHOJEND, &c. to ſome of the new RUSSIAN ſettlements.---There were many YAEIK COSSACKS during this ſpace under his command, who were taken priſoners in the unhappy expedition of prince BECKAWITZ, which I ſhall have occaſion to mention more particularly hereafter, and who had been ſlaves ſeveral years in BOKHARA. From the converſation he had with thoſe people, he conceived a ſtrong notion, that if a ſafe road could be ſtruck out to thoſe cities, a very advantageous trade might be carried on with them, and great quantities of woollen goods vended.---But at length he found it was abſolutely impracticable to croſs the STEP from any of thoſe new ſettlements on the YAEIK to KHIEVA [1], TORCUSTAND, TASHKUND, &c. on account of the perpetual excurſions of the KIERGEESE, KHARAKHULPACKS and KHIVINSKIE TARTARS, who inhabit the STEP, and are continually plundering each other.---He concluded therefore that the only ſafe and eaſy paſſage to BOKHARA, lay down the river VOLGA, and acroſs the CASPIAN to ASTRABAD, or to ſome other port in the ſouth eaſt bottom of that ſea.

[1] Commonly wrote KHIVA. I endeavour to adapt the orthography to the true pronunciation.

Having

Having thus contracted a ſtrong inclination to viſit BOKHARA, he returned to PETERSBURG, in January 1738, and quitted her imperial majeſty's ſervice with ſome diſguſt, not having been promoted as he expected. Immediately upon his taking this ſtep, he began to entertain thoughts of going amongſt the black KHALMUCKS, to the eaſtward of KHIEVA, from whence gold and other precious commodities were brought into EUROPE. ---Theſe people had their ambaſſadors at that time at the court of St. PETERSBURG, who flattered ſome foreigners with hopes of meeting with a kind reception in their country. This deſign, which I ſuppoſe was looked upon as a little extravagant, did not take place; however he ſtill perſiſted in his views of making ſome new and profitable commercial diſcovery. After ſome time he brought his project to bear, for having cultivated a good underſtanding with the BRITISH factors in St. PETERSBURG, and entered into a cloſe conjunction with Mr. MUNGO GRÆME, a young SCOTSMAN, they obtained credit, and a ſmall cargo of goods proper for KHIEVA and BOKHARA.---With theſe they ſet out the beginning of the next year upon this expedition, of which as it is remarkable, abounds with very curious incidents, and contains many uſeful particulars relating to the ſubject of theſe papers, I ſhall give a ſuccinct narrative of it, faithfully extracted from his own journal.

CHAP. IV.

Mr. ELTON's journal from MOSCO *till his arrival at* RESHD.

"WE left Moſco the 14th of March 1739, and travelled 240 "werſts [b] with ſledges to MUROM, a city ſituated on the north "bank of the river OCCA.---This river is very conſiderable, and falls into

[b] A werſt is $\frac{2}{3}$ of an ENGLISH mile.

the

" the VOLGA at NIEZANOVOGORODE. The ice was yet ſubſiſting, but " full of holes, and rotten; however as it was then a hard froſt, clear and " moonlight, we ventured to traverſe it at midnight, and got ſafe over. " From thence we proceeded about 160 werſts to the city ARSAMAS, here " we found the rivulets much ſwelled with the melting of the ſnow, and " the ice broken up, ſo that we could not continue our journey till the wa- " ters abated, and it was convenient to travel with waggons on wheels, " with which we had a fair opportunity to provide ourſelves. The latter " part of our journey proved as tedious to us, as it was fatiguing to our " horſes, being frequently obliged, by the overflowing of the waters, to " leave the main road and go far about. Two of our horſes died with fa- " tigue, and the reſt were greatly harraſſed. We arrived at ARSAMAS the " 21ſt, and took up our quarters in an adjacent village.

" The 4th of April we provided ourſelves with waggons and freſh carri- " ers, and finding the waters almoſt drained off the land, we departed for " SARATOFF.—Our courſe being to the ſouth eaſt, travelling began to be " pleaſant, the ſummer advanced, and the roads grew every day better on " the STEP, where we found great plenty of wild ducks, ſnipes, heath- " cocks, and other birds, of which we ſhot more than enough to ſupply us, " and lived wholly on game. But there was yet no graſs on the STEP, ſo " that during our four days travelling over it, we were obliged to carry hay " and corn for our horſes: however we ſhould have found it very agreeable, " but that one or other of us was conſtrained to be continually on the watch, " for fear of a ſurprize. There are houſes called ZAIMORAS, built for the " accommodation of travellers in winter, about 20 werſts diſtant. In theſe " cottages we were forced to take up our lodgings, water in other places " being very ſcarce. Theſe ZAIMORAS are harbours for rogues, as well as " for honeſt travellers, which obliged us to be more than uſual on our guard; " neither could we put any confidence in our waggoners. We had only two " RUSSIAN ſervants with us, ſo that we divided ourſelves in the night into " two watches, a method which we afterwards continued all the way down " the VOLGA.

" April the 15th. We arrived at the city of SARATOFF, and waited on the " WEYVODE [1]; we found great difficulty to get quarters, the town having " been burnt about a year before. As the ARMENIANS, whom we were in " hopes to have found here, had ſailed two days before; we were much " diſtreſſed how to get a paſſage, no veſſel being obtainable but large boats " which were bound down the VOLGA with meal, and might probably " be a month in their paſſage to ASTRACHAN. The large lotkas [m] and ca- " noes, which uſed to be here in great numbers, were either gone or going " on the ſturgeon fiſhery, and could not be either hired or purchaſed on any " terms. Thus we were under the ſtrongeſt difficulty imaginable how to " get to ASTRACHAN time enough to ſecure our paſſage over the CAS- " PIAN.

" While we were under this dilemma, a veſſel arrived with paſſengers " from SAMARA, and being informed that there was a lotka belonging " to her, bad as ſhe was, we determined to buy her. The reader will " eaſily comprehend what ſhe was, by the inconſiderable price of three " rubles and an half, which we gave for her. It required two days to pre- " pare her for the voyage; in the mean time we engaged five hands to go " with us to ASTRACHAN. The third day we put our goods and part of " our baggage and proviſions on board; but the far greateſt part of the latter " we were forced to take out again to be ſent after us by the firſt opportu- " nity, for there was only room for our oars, and two of us to ſit in the " ſtern. When we all got into the boat, being now ten in number, ſhe ſwam " ſo deep that we were extremely irreſolute whether to proceed in her or " not. But ſenſible of the ſingular advantage of joining the ARMENIANS, " who were gone before us, deſirous alſo to croſs the CASPIAN in the ſame " veſſel with them, and perſuaded that if we miſſed this opportunity, we " might loſe half the ſummer before another veſſel ſailed for RESHD, or " that arriving there late in the ſeaſon, we might be forced to winter in GHI- " LAN; we uſed our utmoſt expedition in diſpatching all things for our de- " parture, and reſolved to proceed with her. On the ſecurity of our little

1 The chief magiſtrate, who acted as governor.

m. Boats ſo called.

" cargo

" cargo all our hopes of opening a trade depended; and to arrive at ASTRA-
" CHAN with our goods damaged, was the ſame as not to arrive there at
" all. Theſe difficulties made us forget the dangers, to which we were ex-
" poſed from a party of pirates, who we were informed hovered about ZO-
" LOTOVA. We had fire arms more than ſufficient, and not hearing that
" theſe robbers were as yet provided with them, we made no queſtion of
" our capacity of defending ourſelves in caſe they ſhould attack us.

" April the 20th. We ſet ſail, and left SARATOFF, but were detained ſome
" hours every day by contrary winds, which blew freſh; this obliged us to
" go very near the entrance of ZOLOTOVA inlet, which on a ſudden brought
" us in ſight of a party of at leaſt 40 perſons, who were on the bank with
" ſix large boats. We inſtantly ſtood to our arms, and demanded who they
" were, they anſwered that they belonged to NISNANOVOGORODE, and
" were going to ASTRACHAN. We rowed down about a mile lower, and
" went aſhore, but before we had well landed, the crew of one of the ſuſ-
" pected boats put off, and came directly down to us; but as we kept our
" people under arms, ſhe held on her way down the VOLGA. We met
" with many alarms of the like kind in our paſſage, ſometimes from the
" RUSSIANS, ſometimes from the KHALMUCKS; and the winds being often
" contrary, and our boat ſo very deep laden, we were frequently obliged to
" make faſt to the ſhore, by which means it was a fortnight before we reach-
" ed ASTRACHAN, where, as may be very eaſily conceived, we arrived
" thoroughly fatigued; ſince there was no room to lye down in the boat,
" and to ſleep ſitting was almoſt as bad as being without ſleep; beſides, the
" danger of being ſurprized, permitted us to take at the moſt only broken
" ſlumbers.

" May the 4th, being at ASTRACHAN, we ſecured our boat, and, after
" taking our reſt, landed our goods and baggage. Here we found the ARME-
" NIANS whom we ſo much deſired to join; they intended to load their goods
" one of the veſſels belonging to the crown, which was to ſail for RESHD
" in three weeks. In this interval we informed ourſelves of the nature of

" the PERSIAN trade, and how it was carried on by the RUSSIANS, as well " as the ARMENIANS. The latter ſuſpecting our deſign were very ſhy in " giving us information; and as we eaſily perceived this, we could not rely " on what they ſaid. They acknowledged however, that the trade from " ASTRACHAN to PERSIA had hitherto been free and open; that foreign " merchants importing goods into PERSIA, might carry them to what mar- " ket they liked beſt, and diſpoſe of them to whom they pleaſed; but that " this year all goods brought to RESHD were obliged to be ſold there; and " that the SHAH's ſon would not permit any one to buy them, except his " own merchants; for although they might keep their goods, if they did " not like the price which thoſe merchants offered, yet they were not al- " lowed to carry them to any other market, or permitted to ſell them to any " other perſon; and that the SHAH's ſon had engroſſed all the raw ſilk to " himſelf, ſo that this commodity was to be procured only of his mer- " chants.

" Things being thus circumſtanced, we determined to proceed directly " from ASTRACHAN to KHIEVA, and thence to BOKHARA, for which " places the goods we had with us were very proper. Here was a veſſel " bound for cape KARAGANSKOI, on the eaſt ſide of the CASPIAN, from " whence, by traverſing the STEP, in about ten days we might arrive at " KHIEVA, and proceed from thence to BOKHARA. Two RUSSIAN fac- " tors intended to make this voyage, as well as ſeveral KHIVINSKIE TAR- " TARS, who came in the ſame veſſel from cape KARAGANSKOI the year " before.---We were deſirous to ſee BOKHARA, and from thence to come " home through PERSIA, thinking ourſelves ſecure of ſelling our goods " there for a conſiderable profit, and in the right road at the ſame time of " gaining a tolerable acquaintance with a country ſo little known to EU- " ROPEANS, and of carrying on a trade in which we chiefly placed our " hopes. But we found the veſſel old and crazy, and were told, that in " paſſing the STEP to KHIEVA, we ſhould run the greateſt hazard of being " plundered and ſold for ſlaves: for though the KHAN of the TARTARS " ſhould, on notice of this veſſel's arrival, ſend a ſmall eſcort to meet and

" protect

" protect the caravan, yet this was a ſlender ſecurity, ſince as the TARTARS " are crafty and ſubtle, and wonderfully ſkilled in ſtratagems, he might at the " ſame time ſend a much ſtronger party to plunder it. But what prevailed " on us moſt to deſiſt from this expedition, was the certain intelligence we " had of the PERSIANS invading that country; ſo that had we arrived ſafe " at KHIEVA and BOKHARA, there could be but little hopes of our return- " ing home by the way of PERSIA; and thus the principal end of our " journey would have been defeated. We now therefore turned our eyes " directly towards PERSIA, though even on that ſide we had but a gloomy " proſpect, and obſerving that the ARMENIANS ſhipped off goods for RESHD, " it encouraged us to run the ſame riſk, as without ſome riſk nothing could " be done.

" May the 23d. Being informed by the lieutenant, who was the com- " mander of the admiralty, that a veſſel belonging to the EMPRESS was on de- " parture for RESHD, we immediately put our goods and baggage aboard her, " and proceeding down the VOLGA, the next day we arrived at YERKIE. " A midſhipman, who was the commanding officer there, gave us the beſt " quarters he could procure. The houſes in that place are very mean, ex- " cept that belonging to the admiralty, which conſiſts of four rooms, where " four midſhipmen were lodged. We arrived at YERKIE five days before " the ARMENIANS, and were forced to remain there four days longer, be- " fore they had loaded their goods, and the veſſel could be put into a condi- " tion to ſail.

" June the 3d. Having left YERKIE in fair weather and a calm, we " drove with the ſtream over the bar. After a paſſage of 14 days, we ar- " rived ſafe in ENZELLEE road, and the next day got over that bar, and en- " tered the haven.

" The next day we warped over ENZELLEE lake, and came to PERRI- " BAZAR, a ſmall village on the ſouth bank of the lake. Here the PER- " SIAN cuſtom-houſe officers had their ſtation, and all the goods deſign- " ed for RESHD are landed.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Mr. ELTON's *journal continued, from his arrival at* RESHD *till his obtaining a decree of* RIZA KOULI MYRZA, *the regent of* PERSIA, *in favour of the* BRITISH *merchants.*

"JUNE the 21ſt. We landed our goods and baggage, and after they had "been viſited by the cuſtom-houſe officers, we proceeded directly with "them to RESHD, which is eight ENGLISH miles diſtant. The goods were "lodged in the cuſtom-houſe, and remained there about three days, in which "time they were opened, viewed, valued, and delivered to us; the duty "was 5 per cent. on their valuation, the amount of which they left at our "pleaſure to diſcharge when we thought fit. We were obliged to take up "lodgings in a very indifferent caravanſerai; indeed the beſt of them are very "mean, the rooms having no light but from the door, ſo that they appeared "like the cells of a jail in our own country. But at length we procured a "houſe, in a ſituation ſo pleaſant that it ſeemed a heaven to us. Our great-"eſt concern now was, in what character to act, being ſuch entire ſtrang-"ers, and the firſt ENGLISHMEN that were known to have come hither o-"ver the CASPIAN on account of trade. As it was moſt agreeable to our "inclinations, ſo it was our primary intention, to live privately, and re-"turn home unobſerved; but this we found to be a ſcheme abſolutely "impracticable, for the JOULFA ARMENIANS * at ASTRACHAN, as well as "thoſe who came over in the ſame veſſel with us, being much alarmed "at the notions which, through jealouſy and fear, they had formed of our "deſign, had acquainted every body who we were, particularly the gover-"nor of the province of GHILAN, whom we were well aſſured they had en-"deavoured to prejudice againſt us. In this ſituation we laboured to pro-"cure the very beſt information we could, of the diſpoſition and temper "of the PERSIANS, and determined to act in our proper character as mer-"chants. This reſolution being once formed, to prevent his ſending to en-

"quire

* Inhabitants of JOULFA near ISFAHAN.

" quire after us, we waited on the MUSTAPHA, who commanded the city in " his abſence. We informed him that we were ENGLISHMEN, come with " a ſmall cargo of ENGLISH cloth, to ſee how it would ſell in GHILAN, and " to buy raw ſilk; that if, upon the experiment, we ſhould find it anſwer, " our deſign was to engage largely in the trade, and eſtabliſh a factory in " GHILAN; that as one of us was a ſeaman [o], as well as merchant, it was " proper to take a ſurvey of the CASPIAN, that we might know if it was " navigable, and how far we might venture our goods on it; alſo to enquire " if the veſſels that now traverſed the CASPIAN were to be truſted, or whe- " ther we ſhould be obliged to have veſſels of our own.

" To which the MUSTAPHA [p] replied, that the SHAH was a great encou- " rager of trade, without doubt, would favour our deſign; that we " might depend on indulgence and protection in all things we could reaſon- " ably deſire; and that he would immediately make a report of us to the " VIZIR [q], who was in the country. The favourable manner in which, " our project was received, gave us great pleaſure; however we thought " it neceſſary to pay our reſpects to the VIZIR himſelf, as ſoon as poſſible.

" June the 27th, Having provided ourſelves with horſes, we ſet out for " LAHIJAN, a city about 50 werſts to the eaſtward of RESHD, where the " VIZIR had a country ſeat, the heats being much more moderate there than " at RESHD. It was late in the evening when we arrived at LAHIJAN. Our " guide and interpreter, who was a PERSIAN that ſpoke RUSS, carried us di- " rectly to the CALENTAR [r], whoſe eldeſt ſon received us very civilly. When " the CALENTAR came home, he repeated the compliments which his ſon " had made us, ordered ſupper, and appointed us an apartment in his houſe. " After ſupper we retired, and were followed by the CALENTAR's eldeſt ſon, " who brought two of his countrymen with him. Finding that they drank

[o] Here Mr. ELTON firſt made a diſcovery of what he ought in all prudence to have concealed.
[p] Signifies a writer; there are of different orders.
[q] Viſir is the next officer to the governor.
[r] Town-clerk.

" ſtrong

" ſtrong liquors, and had excellent lemon-juice, we treated them with punch, " which laſted till midnight, at which time our brandy was near expended; " for we did not expect to find any admirers of ſtrong liquors among the na- " tives of PERSIA.

" June the 28th, About ſun-riſe we waited on the VIZIR, having previouſly " ſent our preſent, as no perſon in that country appears before a great man, " for the firſt time, without a gift of ſome kind or other. He received us " very kindly, bidding us welcome; and immediately chairs were brought " us to ſit down. Our interpreter informed him who we were, and on " what account we came into PERSIA, and begged in our names the favour " of his protection. He anſwered, that as we were ſtrangers, ſo he reck- " oned us his gueſts; and therefore had we not come about any particular " buſineſs, it was his duty to do all in his power to ſerve us: that as to our " deſign, he would talk to us about it, when he came to RESHD, and then " he would forthwith make a report to the SHAH, who he was aſſured would " not fail to ſhew us favour. He entertained us with coffee, tea, and ſweet- " meats, but excuſed himſelf that he could not aſk us to dine with him that " day, becauſe he was to go immediately to RESHD; however he deſired that " we would reſt ourſelves with the CALENTAR, who would be very glad of " our company. The houſe of the VIZIR ſtood at the weſt end of a large ob- " long court, of green turf, encloſed with a wall, a quarter of a mile in " circumference. The eaſt end of the houſe was a large covered gallery, " in which is a fountain, and from whence we had the command of a coun- " try that would have afforded an excellent landſkip, the proſpect to the " eaſtward and the adjacent lands, being interſperſed with mountains, woods, " and vales, ſo that nothing could be more delightful. At the farther end of " the gallery ſat the VIZIR, on each ſide of him ſeveral PERSIANS of diſtinction, " who, ſmoaking their calean, obſerved a profound ſilence. The VIZIR had " the command of a 1000 men: in the abſence of the governor he has a " guard of 100 men, whom he ordered to be drawn up under the gallery, " in two lines facing each other, intending it as a compliment to us.

" We

" We then returned to the CALENTAR's houſe, with whom we were " now become in ſome meaſure acquainted; and retired to our apart- " ments when we pleaſed. Curioſity to ſee us encreaſed the number " of his gueſts: Among ſeveral perſons of note there came three aſtrolo- " gers, who were dreſſed in white, with large turbants of the ſame co- " lour. The PERSIANS to this day are great lovers of aſtrology, and pay " a profound reſpect to the profeſſors of it, relying much on their predic- " tions; we ſhewed them a particular regard, and the more as we ap- " prehended they were ſent by the VIZIR, on purpoſe to give their opinion " of us. Our interpreter, without our knowledge, had informed them " that JOHN ELTON[f] was a proficient in aſtronomy, which induced one " of them to ſend us, by way of preſent, a PERSIAN Kalender very fair- " ly written. The VIZIR having ordered his ſervants to kill a deer, of " which there are great plenty in the neighbouring mountains, at noon " they returned with a fat buck, on part of which we ſupped that night.

" Next morning we took leave of the CALENTAR, and returned to " RESHD, not without being much incommoded by the heat, otherwiſe " this would have been a very pleaſant journey. On every ſide we ſaw " groves of all kinds of fruit trees, and gardens abounding with water- " melons, which were now in ſeaſon. The number of ſmall trenches, " that convey running water to the rice fields, yield a very refreſhing " ſight in thoſe extreme heats, and frequently allayed our thirſt.

" July the 1ſt, This afternoon we waited on the VIZIR, and repeated " to him the view of our coming into PERSIA, upon which we had " a long diſcourſe with him; the reſult was, that with regard to the " goods we now brought with us, the SHAH's merchant would buy them, " and give as much as any other perſon; and if we pleaſed we might go " to the SHAH's ſon at MESCHED, and negotiate our own affairs; but we " had already intimated that ſo long a journey did not ſuit with our preſent

[f] It muſt be obſerved, that this journal, though more immediately given by J. ELTON, is wrote in the plural as from him, and his companion GRÆME alſo.

" ſituation: he then hinted to us, that if we would draw up a petition, " explaining what thoſe privileges were which we deſired, he would " directly forward it to the SHAH's ſon, who he aſſured us would not he- " ſitate to grant a decree in our favour. Having ſo fair an opportuni- " ty, and finding the PERSIAN trade would anſwer, we immediately " embraced the VIZIR's offer, and returned him our thanks, telling him " that we would draw up a petition as ſoon as poſſible, and lay it before " him for his approbation.

" After taking our leave of the VIZIR, we went to the SHAH's merchant, " with whom we diſcourſed for a long time. He enquired particularly a- " bout the nature of our trade, whether the company of ENGLISH mer- " chants, who traded to St. PETERSBURG, was the ſame that traded to IS- " FAHAN, by way of EAST INDIA. We anſwered all his queſtions to " ſatisfaction, and informed him of what had paſſed in our converſation " with the VIZIR, and our intention of ſending a petition to the SHAH's ſon " at MESCHED, to deſire his protection, and a free trade into his domini- " ons. At this he expreſſed great ſatisfaction, and obſerved, that as our " petition related to trade, it would be referred to his maſter, the SHAH's " principal merchant, who is his treaſurer and a great favourite, to whom " he would write particularly concerning us; at the ſame time he aſſured " us of his readineſs to do all the good offices in his power. We thank- " ed him, and added, that as we intended to return very ſoon to ASTRA- " CHAN, it would be of ſingular advantage to us to have our buſineſs " ſpeedily diſpatched.

" The next day we drew up a petition in ENGLISH, of which we pro- " cured a tranſlation into the PERSIAN language, in the beſt manner we " were able; the following contains the ſeveral articles.

To

To RIZA KOULI MYRZA, regent of PERSIA.

The petition of J. ELTON and M. GRÆME, in behalf of the BRITISH company of merchants.

I. "THAT the BRITISH company may navigate the CASPIAN, and "at all other times, without reſtraint, ſail with merchandize "to and from any of the SHAH's ports on that ſea.

II. "That they may at all times import merchandize into any part of "the SHAH's dominions in PERSIA, INDIA, or BOKHARA, paying ſuch "duty only on importation as the ſubjects of PERSIA uſually pay; and "inveſt the produce in raw ſilk, or any other commodity of the SHAH's "dominions, paying ſuch duties on exportation, as the ſubjects of PER-"SIA pay.

III. "That they may have liberty to hire or buy houſes or warehouſes "in any part of the SHAH's dominions, and there diſpoſe of their goods "to the beſt advantage, without being liable to any other duty than what "was firſt paid on importation.

IV. "That the company may have all poſſible protection for their "perſons and effects, in every part of the SHAH's dominions, and leave "to depart thence freely at all times, as their occaſions ſhall require.

V. "That the company will be ready at all times to contract with "the SHAH's merchants for any quantity of cloth for cloathing the PER-"SIAN army, or any other uſe, the SHAH's merchants agreeing for the "price, and delivering patterns for ſuch cloths. That when the ſaid "cloth ſhall be imported according to contract, if the SHAH's merchants "find any of them inferior to the pattern, they may reject them; but for "what they ſhall receive, they are to pay the company ready money. "That whatever cloths are refuſed, the company may ſell them in any "part of the SHAH's dominions, on the beſt terms they can.

" The company will be at all times ready to contract with the SHAH's " merchants for any quantity of any other ſort of goods; and they deſire " that no delays may be made on the part of the SHAH's merchants, in " receiving goods for which they have contracted.

VI. " That if they ſhall contract with private PERSIAN merchants for " any certain quantity of goods, and a diſpute ſhall ariſe about the de- " livery or payment of the ſame, the governor of that province ſhall de- " cide the difference; but if the company ſhall not chuſe to abide by " the deciſion of the governor, that then they may have leave directly " to appeal to the SHAH himſelf.

VII. " That if any of their ſhips ſhall arrive at any other of the Shah's " ports beſides RESHD, and they ſhall not be furniſhed with PERSIAN " money enough to diſcharge the duty of ſuch goods as they import, " then the receiver of the cuſtoms of ſuch port ſhall take a bill of ex- " change on the company's houſe at RESHD, for the amount of ſuch " duty.

VIII. " That when the company ſhall have paid duty on goods im- " ported, the ſaid goods ſhall not be liable to any farther duty on any " pretence whatſoever, although ſuch goods are carried from the place " where they are landed, to any other part of the SHAH's dominions.

IX. " That goods imported by the company, not for the SHAH's uſe, " but deſigned to be ſold in the inland parts of his dominions, may not " be liable to be wholly unpacked by the cuſtom-houſe officers, but only " ſo far opened as may ſatisfy them there is no fraud deſigned, and " that the contents of the bales are really ſuch as they are reported to " be.

X. " That they may have a broker appointed to attend them, who, if " required, may be a witneſs betwixt them and any perſon they may con- " tract with, or ſell goods to; alſo for any other ſuch uſe.

" We

" We humbly beg that this our buſineſs may be ſpeedily diſ-
" patched, that we may return with our report; and if,
" through the ſhort time we have had to draw up this Pe-
" tition, we have forgotten any material articles, we hum-
" bly deſire we may obtain them next year.

Signed and ſealed { J. ELTON. / M. GRÆME.

" When this petition was tranſlated, we preſented it to the VIZIR and
" alſo to the merchant, who approved of it; we informed them at the
" ſame time that we had nothing but a gold repeating watch of curious
" workmanſhip, worthy of the regent's acceptance. They both thought
" it proper to ſend the watch as a preſent with the petition; therefore
" having prepared fair copies in our own and the PERSIAN language, we
" delivered them to the merchant, together with the repeating watch, and
" a plain gold one for the regent's treaſurer. On the 4th of July they
" were all ſent forward to MESCHED.

" The few goods we had brought with us, we ſold to the regent's
" merchant, who bargained with us very fairly, and gave us as good a
" price as we could have obtained of any of the private merchants who
" valued them.

" The regent, after the example of his father, had entered into very
" oppreſſive meaſures, by buying up all EUROPEAN goods, as well as raw
" ſilk, making himſelf the only merchant in PERSIA. Complaints being
" made to him of the pernicious conſequences of this policy by the CA-
" LENTAR of RESHD, who was deputed by the people of that city, he
" ordered him to be ſtrangled, under pretence that by ſuch repreſentations
" his authority was contemned; however, this project wounded the PER-
" SIAN merchants in a moſt ſenſible manner, and could not therefore, in
" the opinion of the wiſeſt heads, be of any long duration.

" A month

" A month and ſeven days being expired ſince we forwarded our pe-
" tition, and the ſeaſon drawing near for the departure of the laſt ſhips
" from PERSIA to ASTRACHAN, we began to be impatient for an anſwer.
" We repreſented to the VIZIR the neceſſity we were under of returning
" to RUSSIA in the autumn, otherwiſe we muſt loſe a whole year. The
" VIZIR replied, that one of us at leaſt ought to ſtay, to do honour to
" the regent's decree; and dropt ſeveral expreſſions, intimating the dan-
" ger himſelf ſhould be expoſed to, if he permitted us to depart. He de-
" ſired that Mr. ELTON ſhould remain, and that he would ſend Mr.
" GRÆME poſt by land to the RUSSIAN frontiers, and provide him a ſafe
" convoy at the SHAH's expence. Whilſt this matter, ſo intereſting to
" us, was in agitation, the 15th of Auguſt a courier arrived with a de-
" cree, which we received with much ſatisfaction. We preſented the
" courier with a complete PERSIAN habit, which, according to the cuſ-
" tom of the country, he wore in honour of us, and, in return, he in-
" ſiſted on our ſervants acceptance of three gold ducats. The decree was
" conceived in the following terms.

The decree of RIZA KOULI MYRZA.

" OUR high commandment conſiſts in this, that we have condeſ-
" cended to grant the petitioners the contents of their humble
" petition; and be it KNOWN to the moſt excellent Begler Begs, moſt
" honourable governors and commiſſioners of our empire of IRAN
" which reſembles paradiſe; the country of BALKH, and its dependencies.

" Whereas ſome honourable ENGLISH merchants have arrived here from
" the empire of RUSSIA, we have given them liberty, and hereby allow
" them, to land their goods, with all freedom, in any of our ports of the
" CASPIAN, and from thence to carry them to any market of our em-
" pire, particularly to our provinces of KHORASAN, HERAK, FARS,
" VAUSIER, RODSHAUN, VEZID, KHERMAN, BALKH, ANHIHOBAD,
" STRABRAN, and to the banks of the river AMU, to the confines of

" BAD-

" BADDUKHSHAN, CABUL, COSBIN, PSTAGNE, to the empire of INDIA, " and to the banks of the river ATTOK: And that they be permitted " and indulged to purſue their journies with their merchandize, without " the leaſt interruption or diſturbance, we have ordered all the ſubjects " of our empire to give them all reaſonable aſſiſtance. When they " ſhall have determined at any port or place to open their goods, and ex- " poſe them to ſale, they may at all times do ſo without interruption; " and what remains unſold, they are left at the liberty to tranſport them " where they pleaſe, in veſſels or on loads. Upon ſuch veſſels or carriages " on which their goods ſhall be loaded, the cuſtomary duty only ſhall be " taken, and by no means any more ſhall be exacted from them.

" If theſe ENGLISH merchants deſire to buy up and export any of the " commodities of the empire, in that they ſhall meet with no manner of " hindrance, but ſhall find the ſame indulgence as any other merchants " whatſoever. When their veſſels or merchandize ſhall happen to arrive at " any port or place where there ſhall be no ENGLISH conſul, or ENGLISH " houſe, or though there ſhall be an ENGLISH houſe, yet if they have " no inclination to land their goods, no force ſhall be uſed to oblige " them to land them, nor ſhall they, under any pretence, be detained, " after paying the uſual duty, and taking a receipt or diſcharge for the " ſame. If it ſhould happen, that they have no money ready to pay the " duty on goods they ſhall import into any other port or place beſides " RESHD, then they may give an aſſignment on their houſe at RESHD. " If they ſhall have occaſion to hire, or buy veſſels, for carrying off, or " bringing on ſhore their goods, the commanders of our ports are here- " by commanded to give them all reaſonable aſſiſtance therein. If theſe " merchants deſire to ſell their goods out of their own quarters, houſes, " or warehouſes, we give them full power ſo to do; and let none have " the aſſurance to interrupt them, under pretence that the goods have " not been regularly viewed by the cuſtom-houſe officers; but at the " ſame time we expect they will not offer goods to ſale, that have not been " regularly reported at the cuſtom-houſe, to the injury of our revenues.

" If

" If the ENGLISH merchants deſire to hire, buy, or build houſes at " RESHD, or in any other port or place, in that we order them to have " all reaſonable aſſiſtance, but the inhabitants of ſuch places ſhall not be " conſtrained to part with their houſes, againſt their inclination; yet " they ſhall treat the ENGLISH with all imaginable civility and reſpect.

" If any of the goods they ſhall import, be thought proper by our com- " miſſaries for ourſelf, ſuch may be taken by them for our uſe, at the " ſame price as they would be ſold to other people, our commiſſaries pay- " ing ready money, and they ſhall not be obliged to part with, or de- " liver goods, without ready money; and in ſuch payments let none dare " to give them the leaſt trouble, under pain of our higheſt diſpleaſure. " Whatſoever goods they ſhall bring, that ſhall not be thought proper for " our uſe, they have liberty to ſell them to whom they pleaſe, without " hindrance or delay; and theſe the ENGLISH merchants have leave to ſhip " off, and carry to what place they ſhall think moſt convenient; and if " any differences happen in trade, and they ſhall come to hearing or trial, " the commiſſaries of the place are ordered to give immediate ſentence " without partiality.

" In whatſoever port the ENGLISH merchants ſhall pay their duty, " there they are to have a written diſcharge, in which ſhall be ſet forth, " for what goods they have paid duty, and the amount thereof, that " they may not be liable to pay duty for them again, in any other port " or place. The cuſtom-houſe officers are not to break open and unpack " their bales, but to take the merchant's word for the contents of them, " that they may ſuſtain no damage. In whatever province the ENGLISH " merchants ſhall arrive, our moſt excellent Begler Begs, and other our " honourable commanders, are hereby ordered to ſhew them all imagin- " able reſpect, nor to allow or ſuffer any perſon whatſoever, to affront or " moleſt them. And ſeeing the petitioners are only acquainted with the " EUROPEAN language, and cannot confer with our ſubjects without an in- " terpreter, it is neceſſary their brokers ſhould be men acquainted with both " languages.

" languages. If they deſire ſuch interpreters, though they are chriſtians, " they have leave to make uſe of them without reſtraint.

" The petitioners are received under our moſt gracious protection: the " watch which they ſent was received; and as a mark of our favour, by " the bearer hereof, we preſent them with 50 rubles: and we hereby " command our moſt high truſty treaſurers and regiſters of our empire, " to regiſter this our high decree, and put it in execution, under pain of " our higheſt diſpleaſure.

" Written at MESCHED in the Shumaſnel Saneuf 1152 years[f].

( ) The place of the ſeal of

RIZA KOULI MYRZA.

CHAP. VI.

Mr. ELTON *returns to St.* PETERSBURG. *His farther proceedings in eſtabliſhing the* CASPIAN *trade, till the delivery of his memorial to the honourable Mr.* FINCH.

IN the preceding extract from Mr. ELTON's journal, the reader will, without queſtion, obſerve that the regent's decree was in every reſpect as full and clear as could poſſibly be deſired; and tho' I believe ſome latitude was taken in the tranſlation of it, yet it was the regent's meaning to give all poſſible encouragement to the trade propoſed. As to paying ready money for goods taken for the uſe of the crown, it was never practiſed in our time; it was called ready money, but it generally proved a laborious task, and required ſome time to recover it; and as to contract-

[f] Auguſt 1739.

contracting for goods on patterns previous to their arrival, it is not practiſed in PERSIA.

The 50 crowns ſent by the regent as a preſent, has no air of grandeur, but it was diſcovered after ſome time, that the execrable wretch who was entruſted with the gold repeating watch, had delivered only a mean one of ſilver.

Mr. ELTON having received the decree, preſented it to the governor; who received it ſtanding, in the moſt reſpectful manner, putting it firſt up to his forehead, with both his hands, according to the manner of the PERSIANS. The whole company roſe up at the ſame time, and when the governor had again taken his ſeat, he read the decree, and gave it to the VIZIR for his peruſal. He deſired likewiſe that he might have a copy thereof, in order to communicate the ſame to all whom it concerned, and enter it alſo on the public regiſter. At the ſame time he inſiſted that Mr. ELTON ſhould remain in GHILAN, from a preſumption that the regent would make very particular enquiries concerning him and his partner. Mr. ELTON repreſented that his ſtaying there would fruſtrate the ends of the decree which the regent had given him; becauſe his employment required him to repair forthwith to St. PETERSBURG, in order to ſettle matters with his conſtituents. Accordingly leaving Mr. GRÆME, he departed the 22d of Auguſt for RUSSIA, and after meeting with tedious delays, and ſome unkind uſage during his quarentine at the mouth of the VOLGA, he arrived in St. PETERSBURG about the end of January 1740.

The ſucceſs he had in PERSIA procured him a kind reception from the ENGLISH factors, who after conſulting their principals in LONDON, deſired he would preſent a memorial to his majeſty's miniſter at the court of RUSSIA, the ſubſtance of which will appear from the following extracts,

Extracts

Extracts of a memorial delivered by J. ELTON, to the honourable Mr. E. FINCH, his majeſty's miniſter at St. PETERSBURG. Dated in St. PETERSBURG, July 1740.

" THE northern provinces of PERSIA produce the greateſt quanti-
" ty, and the beſt ſort of raw ſilk; and from thence the ſouthern
" provinces, and the ſilk manufactories at MESCHED, as well as thoſe in
" TURKEY, are ſupplied. The provinces moſt abounding in ſilk are
" GHILAN, the principal city in which is RESHD; SHIRVAN, the capi-
" tal of which is SHAMAKIE; ARAN[1], of which the chief city is
" GANJA: the two former of theſe provinces are on the ſouth weſt
" ſhores of the CASPIAN ſea, and the latter is adjacent.

" Since NADIR SHAH's acceſſion to the throne of PERSIA, he has
" made MESCHED, the capital of KHORASAN, his favourite city, and
" conſequently the ſeat of the PERSIAN empire; ſo that by the extra-
" ordinary privileges with which he has endowed that capital, and by
" other meaſures that he hath taken to aggrandize it, he has in ſome
" meaſure drained ISFAHAN of its inhabitants.

" RIZA KOULI MYRZA, regent of PERSIA, and eldeſt ſon to NA-
" DIR SHAH, hath eſtabliſhed his reſidence at MESCHED for ſome
" years paſt, during his father's abſence in INDIA; in which time he
" hath taken the city of BALKH, and cleared the frontiers of KHORA-
" SAN from the TURKUMANS and OUSBEG TARTARS, who uſed fre-
" quently to infeſt them. 'Tis preſumed likewiſe that the city of BOK-
" HARA has by this time ſubmitted to the PERSIANS.

" The ſeat of the PERSIAN empire being thus removed ſo near to the
" CASPIAN, for MESCHED is but an eaſy journey from the port of AS-
" TRABAD, is, without doubt, a very lucky circumſtance for our mer-
" chants, who by that means are enabled to ſupply it with EUROPE-
" AN commodities, particularly with woollen goods, which is an article

[1] ARAN is generally wrote ERIVAN.

" of very great conſequence; as all the PERSIANS, from the higheſt to " the loweſt, eſteem and prefer woollen cloaths to their own cheaper ſilk- " en manufactures, inſomuch that they never wear hoſe of any ſort but " ſuch as are made of woollen cloth *.

" To ſupply the capital city of PERSIA, and the adjacent provinces, " with woollen goods and other EUROPEAN commodities, is not the only " motive that ſhould determine the BRITISH merchants to eſtabliſh their " principal mart at MESCHED. The conſideration of the advantageous " ſituation of that city, ought to carry their views much farther; for it " lies moſt commodiouſly to anſwer the demands of the neighbouring " parts of TARTARY. For whoever conſiders the great extent of " both the BOKHARA's, the kingdoms of TANGUT and THIBET, to- " gether with the vaſt tracts of land that border upon them, muſt at " the ſame time ſee that they contain many great and populous cities; " even their uncultivated lands are inhabited by millions of people, who " are fond of EUROPEAN commodities: from whence we muſt conclude, " that a very advantageous trade might be carried on with them through " MESCHED; for caravans come to this place from all the cities in the " great and little BOKHARA, and from ſeveral of the eaſtern cities of " PERSIA, alſo from CABUL, KANDAHAR, and the northern frontiers " of INDIA. And without all queſtion, when thoſe cities are certain of " finding at MESCHED plenty of all the ſorts of EUROPEAN goods that " they want, and at the ſame time an increaſed demand for their own " commodities, their caravans muſt quickly become more rich, and there- " fore more numerous; by which means alone the BRITISH merchants, " without carrying their goods further than MESCHED, will be able to " puſh their commerce to the utmoſt limits of the extenſive countries " abovementioned.

" That the BRITISH merchants may command this BOKHARA trade, " whenever they pleaſe, is obvious to a degree that cannot be ſaid to re-

* When they wear hoſe they are made looſe in the manner of boots, tho' they do not uſe them in riding; but wore ſocks in the common clothing of their feet.

" quire

" quire any proof. They have nothing to do but to ſend their goods from " St. PETERSBURG, and from thence, partly by land, and partly by water, " to ASTRACHAN, where they may embark them to croſs the CAS- " PIAN ſea, to the port of ASTRABAD, in the ſouth eaſt bottom of the " CASPIAN, and from thence there is but a little way by land to MES- " CHED: this will be ſafer, more eaſy, and almoſt as expeditious as ſend- " ing goods from LONDON to St. PETERSBURG, becauſe the CASPIAN " is a much ſafer navigation than the BALTIC. But the ſucceſs of all de- " pends intirely on the BRITISH merchants having their own veſſels to " navigate the VOLGA and the CASPIAN, for reaſons which it would be- " improper to mention here.

" The BRITISH merchants cannot have any formidable rivals to con- " tend with, or to apprehend in this trade; for the eaſtern provinces of " PERSIA, both the BOKHARA's, and the adjacent countries, can be no " otherwiſe ſupplied with EUROPEAN commodities, than through the " RUSSIAN empire, and by the method beforementioned of reſorting to " the city of MESCHED.

" On the ſtricteſt enquiry I could make in GHILAN, I could not find " that any ENGLISH woollen goods, either by way of EAST INDIA, " or TURKEY, ever reached to this old mart, and new capital of PER- " SIA. The woollen goods which the ARMENIANS import into GHI- " LAN, either by the way of TURKEY, or the empire of RUSSIA, are all " DUTCH cloths, and but few of theſe are ſent to MESCHED; ſo that the " trade from LONDON croſs the CASPIAN to this city, might, in the " courſe of a few years, be made as conſiderable in regard to the con- " ſumption of our woollen manufactures, as any one branch of commerce " we have at preſent. It is alſo to be ſcarcely doubted, that the BRITISH " merchants, if they reſolve in earneſt to enter on the trade to BOKHARA, " will find their account in it, much more than in that which they now " carry on from LONDON to the empire of RUSSIA. Indeed this may be " eaſily proved; for at MESCHED and the BOKHARA's their woollen goods " would yield a much better price, and much greater profit would ariſe

" from

" from their returns. In this trade they would ſell all their goods for ready " money; whereas in RUSSIA the BRITISH merchants are obliged to give " long credit, which not only conſumes a part of their profit, but ſubjects " them annually to contract bad debts, for large ſums.

" With regard to the trade to the BOKHARA's, it is a moſt favourable cir- " cumſtance that MESCHED ſtands ſo very commodiouſly with reſpect to the " provinces of GHILAN and SHIRVAN, from whence the returns for goods " ſold at MESCHED may be made in raw ſilk, to the amount of almoſt " any ſum. Nor can it be doubted, but that when our merchants come " to be acquainted with the BOKHARA's, and the cities to the eaſtward, " they will find other valuable commodities there, ſuch as gold, precious " ſtones, bezoar, muſk, &c. in which they may inveſt their returns, in " caſe the produce of the northern provinces of PERSIA ſhould prove in- " ſufficient. Hence it will follow, that after they have eſtabliſhed them- " ſelves at MESCHED, they will obtain the cloathing of the whole PERSI- " AN army, by contracting with the SHAH's principal merchant, and " ſupply all thoſe vaſt and populous countries abovementioned with wool- " len goods; and this becauſe no nation, but the people of GREAT BRI- " TAIN, can ſupply them with woollens in ſuch plenty, nor at ſo eaſy a " rate, and at the ſame time afford to give ſo good a price for their raw " ſilk, and other commodities with which that country abounds. All this " the PERSIANS, as well as the ARMENIANS, are apprized of; and 'tis " this which ſo much engages the attention of the one, and alarms the " fears of the other. This conſideration alſo no doubt prevailed on the " regent ſo eaſily to grant us the privileges I obtained, in favour of the " BRITISH merchants laſt year, which he confirmed by his decree. Soon " after I left GHILAN, the ARMENIAN patriarch ſtrongly ſolicited the re- " gent in behalf of his people, to reverſe that decree; but his ſolicitation " had a contrary effect, for the regent confirmed it, and ſent orders the " ſecond time to the governor of RESHD to ſhew the ſtricteſt regard to it " in all points.

" The

" The BRITISH merchants can never be ſupplanted in this trade, ſo " long as they ſecure a paſſage for their goods through the empire of " RUSSIA, and a freedom of navigation on the CASPIAN, both which it " will be the intereſt of the ſovereign of RUSSIA, to grant to the ſubjects " of GREAT BRITAIN.

" It may therefore be humbly preſumed, that it will be thought reaſon- " able by the legiſlature of GREAT BRITAIN, to give all neceſſary pow- " ers to us. For it ſeems impoſſible to ſtrike out any new branch of " trade to any part of the world, capable of vying with this in the ad- " vantages which it promiſes. Both the ſilk and woollen manufactures " would certainly reap great benefit therefrom; and moreover very pro- " fitable returns might be made in gold, jewels, cotton, fine wool, and " other valuable commodities.

" Further, the BRITISH EAST INDIA company have for above five " years paſt abandoned ISFAHAN, to which city, in all that ſpace of " time, they have not ſent one bale of woollen goods, and, as we are in- " formed, they have no thoughts of ſending any more for the future. " The DUTCH likewiſe, who ſtill remain at ISFAHAN, ſend but a very " inconſiderable quantity of goods to that city; for the trade which it " formerly enjoyed, is tranſplanted to, and centers in MESCHED, which " is at too great a diſtance from the PERSIAN gulf, or eaſtern ocean, for " either the BRITISH or DUTCH EAST INDIA company to ſend goods " thither round the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

" It is alſo more than probable, that when the BRITISH merchants " ſhall have eſtabliſhed themſelves in the MESCHED and BOKHARA trade, " it will in a few years become a more beneficial article to GREAT BRI- " TAIN than the TURKEY trade ever was. In this, a greater quantity of " woollen goods may be vended at a better price, and to countries to " which the BRITISH commerce hath never yet reached, nor ever can " be extended by any other channel than that now propoſed; beſides, " the very ſame commodities which the TURKEY company now import

" into

" into GREAT BRITAIN, not to mention any new articles, may be brought " from MESCHED a great deal cheaper, and with much greater advantage " to the nation.

" In particular, the commodiouſneſs of the roads between MESCHED, " GHILAN, and the northern provinces of PERSIA, will enable the RUS- " SIA company to import raw ſilk much cheaper than the TURKEY mer- " chants. They can buy it up at the firſt hand in the very provinces " where it is produced, whilſt the TURKEY merchants muſt buy the " ſame at ſecond hand from the TURKS and ARMENIANS, who bring it to " ALEPPO, CONSTANTINOPLE, and SMYRNA, where they ſell it at a great " advance. And it muſt be obſerved, that the eaſtern provinces of PER- " SIA produce but a very inconſiderable quantity of this commodity. Be- " ſides, the SHAH's principal merchant in RESHD refuſed to ſupply the " TURKS and ARMENIANS, who came laſt year to buy up ſilk in GHI- " LAN, with any quantity, unleſs they paid 20 per cent. above the price he " then ſold it at to thoſe who exported for RUSSIA; and he had poſitive " orders to ſell no ſilk for exportation to TURKEY, if he could find any " other market for it*.

" The PERSIANS, who have a ſettled averſion for the TURKS, are well " informed of the advantage which the TURKISH empire derives from its " being the principal market for PERSIAN ſilk; and have therefore been en- " deavouring to prevent it for more than an hundred years paſt. They are " likewiſe well apprized, that the only way to ſucceed in this deſign, is to " encourage the BRITISH merchants to come and ſettle in GHILAN, by " which means they hope in time to divert the channel of trade for GHI- " LAN ſilk, which now runs through the TURKISH dominions, and to " turn its current through the empire of RUSSIA. Could this be once " effected, it would not only be of ſingular advantage both to the empires " of RUSSIA and PERSIA, with regard to their trade, but it could not fail " of conſiderably diſtreſſing the TURK, who is the common enemy of

* Two circumſtances which I could never hear confirmed, nor ever thought were true.

both

" both theſe empires. If the TURKS and TURKISH ARMENIANS are de-
" nied the exportation of GHILAN ſilk for TURKEY, or obliged to pur-
" chaſe it on ſuch unequal terms, we muſt expect, either that the TUR-
" KEY company will no longer import any PERSIAN ſilk at all, or that
" they will not be able to ſell what they import, but at a very extravagant
" price. This is a circumſtance which deſerves attention, ſhould the RUS-
" SIA merchants be oppoſed in the importation of PERSIAN ſilk into
" GREAT BRITAIN, either by the TURKEY company or any other.

" As the BRITISH merchants can at preſent have no better information,
" I ſhall venture to hint briefly at the method they ought to take to eſta-
" bliſh themſelves in this valuable trade to the BOKHARA's, and to the
" north eaſtern provinces of PERSIA.

" It is neceſſary they ſhould build at CASAN one or two veſſels of a-
" bout 180 tons, or ſomewhat leſs, for the navigation of the CASPIAN
" ſea, which veſſels may be manned by half BRITISH and half RUSSIAN
" ſeamen; and they muſt alſo have a few large boats on the VOLGA.
" Theſe veſſels and boats will be no burthen to the BRITISH merchants in
" carrying on this trade, becauſe they muſt pay the ſame freight for the
" mean RUSSIAN veſſels which croſs the CASPIAN. And if in the in-
" fancy of this commerce, the BRITISH merchants ſhould not ſend goods
" enough to freight ſuch veſſels, they may find ſufficient employment to
" maintain them, by carrying goods and paſſengers on the CASPIAN, from
" one part of PERSIA to another *.

" The only difficulty ſeems to be in procuring liberty to build ſuch
" veſſels: but as it will be impoſſible to carry on a trade to MESCHED,
" or even to GHILAN without them; it is ſubmitted, if the merchants
" ought not by all means, and as ſoon as poſſible, to apply for ſuch
" liberty.

* This firſt gave offence; the ENGLISH ſhips ſhould not have been above 60 or 70 tons.

" The BRITISH merchants muſt likewiſe eſtabliſh a houſe at MESCHED,
" one branch of which ſhould reſide at RESHD, and the chief be inveſt-
" ed with the title of conſul to the king, and agent to the company; ſuch
" a character given to the chief of their houſe will have great weight with
" the PERSIANS, and firmly eſtabliſh the affairs of the new undertakers;
" and it is the more neceſſary, as the EAST INDIA company have always
" had their agent at ISFAHAN, and RUSSIA at preſent has her conſul at
" RESHD.

Signed JOHN ELTON.

CHAP. VII.

Remarks on Mr. ELTON's *memorial. A ſhort view of the trade between* PERSIA *and* TURKEY. *The difference between that and the new trade propoſed by the way of* RUSSIA *to* PERSIA.

THIS pompous memorial promiſed a great deal too much, conſidering how little experience the author had of the ſubject he undertook to treat of.

Nothing is more natural than for men to be charmed with the creatures of their own brain, and to receive that as ſolid reaſoning which flatters ſome favourite paſſion. Mr. ELTON having thus found his way to GHILAN, and laid the foundation of a commercial intercourſe with that province, worked himſelf into the perſuaſion that he had diſcovered a quite new trade, which the ARMENIANS either knew nothing of, or were incapable of conducting. This however was far from being the caſe; for they frequented MESCHED in the reign of SHAH ABAS, and ſupplied it with EUROPEAN commodities from ISFAHAN, TAVRIS, and alſo from the

the coaſt of the CASPIAN. There is a yet a large CARAVANSERAI built by SHAH ABAS for the uſe of the ARMENIANS, who are ſettled here in great numbers; and had there been any proſpect of ſuch advantages, as Mr. ELTON imagined, they would not have wanted abilities, or means to make uſe of them.

I ſhall have occaſion to explain this matter more fully hereafter, and will only obſerve at preſent, that if Mr. ELTON had been acquainted with the extreme diſtreſs of PERSIA, in conſequence of NADIR's uſurpation, and with the unhappy condition of the countries bordering on the eaſt and ſouth eaſt of PERSIA, there could not have been the leaſt room for ſuch ſanguine expectations.

It is not improbable that the regent of PERSIA conſented the more readily to Mr. ELTON's propoſals of bringing merchandize from ENGLAND to GHILAN, becauſe the SHAH's merchant reſided at that time in this province, and MESCHED ſtood very conveniently between the TURKS, with whom the PERSIANS were at war, and that part of INDIA which was lately conquered by the PERSIANS; but this was not the only reaſon, for he knew very well, that by increaſing the places of importation, and the number of importers, he would be enabled to buy the manufactures of EUROPE ſo much the cheaper. As to the trade between the northern provinces of PERSIA and TURKEY, Mr. ELTON certainly was too ſanguine. The expence of carriage through RUSSIA was then computed to be 17 per cent. cheaper than by the rout of TURKEY; but according to the beſt calculations I could ever obtain, I found the difference to be no more than 4 per cent. and if the freights from SMYRNA and ALEPPO were moderate, it would come ſtill lower. As there are no caravans of merchandize ſent from PERSIA to TURKEY, for account of our factors in SMYRNA and ALEPPO, this computation of the carriage can be taken only from the ARMENIANS, and the charge thereof muſt vary according to the circumſtances of thoſe countries as to war or peace.

It muſt be confeſſed, that reaſonings poſt factum, argue rather our experience than our wiſdom: and whilſt we are biaſſed by our intereſt and the deſire of gain, we ſeldom have either leiſure or inclination to examine things to the bottom. It is no wonder then that the RUSSIA company, in conſequence of the agreeable account which Mr. ELTON gave, and the ſanguine hopes they had entertained, ſhould fall into ſome miſtakes.

The trade between PERSIA and TURKEY had been for the greateſt part carried on by the ARMENIANS, of whom, as far as I could learn, there are not leſs than 10,000 ſettled in TURKEY; theſe are employed chiefly by the ENGLISH, FRENCH, and DUTCH merchants reſiding in CONSTANTINOPLE, SMYRNA, and ALEPPO. They have long diſtinguiſhed themſelves as the moſt acute traders in all ASIA, and carry to market the products of the EAST, returning thoſe of EUROPE.

The wars and hereditary enmity of the TURKS and PERSIANS had often obſtructed this commerce between PERSIA and TURKEY, and at length forced moſt of the ARMENIAN traders into the channel of RUSSIA, croſs the CASPIAN ſea: but ſhould PERSIA recover herſelf again, ſo as to produce any conſiderable quantity of ſilk, it is more than probable that the ARMENIAN ſubjects of the GRAND SEIGNIOR, who live in and about TAVRIS and ERZERUM, will come in for a large ſhare of that branch of commerce.

The ordinary rout for a caravan from RESHD to SMYRNA is to ARDEVILLE 5 days, to TAVRIS 10 days, to ERZERUM 12, from thence to SMYRNA 43, in all 70. The rout to ALEPPO is from RESHD to CASBIN, HAMADAN, SHUSTER, BAGDAT *, ALEPPO, and is upon the whole about ten days leſs than to SMYRNA. There is yet a ſhorter road to ALEPPO, but it is ill ſupplied with water. ALEPPO from SMYRNA is reckoned 40 days; a day's journey being computed at 25 ENGLISH miles, the tract of ſeventy days already mentioned, is 1750 miles, or 2230

* BABYLON.

weſts.

werſts: and from ASTRACHAN to St. PETERSBURG they reckon 2200 werſts, as the annexed map more particularly deſcribes. The reader will pleaſe to obſerve, that this map was not ſhown to the houſe of lords, as erroneouſly ſaid, but to ſuch peers only who entered deepeſt into the ſubject. It now ſtands corrected according to the beſt intelligence I could procure in PERSIA.

It muſt be obſerved, that the ARMENIANS are ſubject to many arbitrary impoſitions, when they travel through the GRAND SEIGNIOR's dominions, but they enjoy the indulgence of trading from one great city to another, much more than is practicable in RUSSIA; they are alſo ſubject to inconveniencies in RUSSIA, when the governor of ASTRACHAN happens to be rapacious, or the RUSSIAN conſul in GHILAN inſolent and oppreſſive; the entire direction of the RUSSIAN navigation on the CASPIAN being in the hands of the latter.

There are many of the ARMENIANS who acknowledge ſubjection to RUSSIA, and are therefore entitled to ſo much the greater countenance in that country; but what muſt give the RUSSIANS a preference in the eſteem of the PERSIANS, is the mutual intereſt they both have in depriving the TURK of the advantages ariſing from the PERSIAN commerce, which has been ſo conſiderable as to enable him to keep a great number of forces on foot, and has often turned the ſcale in his favour.

From GHILAN to ASTRACHAN, allowing for quarantine and other contingencies, may be reckoned 30 days, from thence to ZARITZEN 10, from thence to MOSCO 35, from thence to St. PETERSBURG 20, in all 95, which is many days longer than the rout to TURKEY, upon a moderate computation. Moreover, according to the uſual courſe of the ſeaſons, the only proper times to ſet out for ASTRACHAN, are the months of May, June, and July, for the ſummer caravans, and January for the winter.

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This muſt neceſſarily create delays, and often prevent the timely exportation from St. PETERSBURG; nor can it be imagined but that the ſhipping of the ſilk on the CASPIAN, and in the ſummer time again on the VOLGA, and again on the BALTIC, muſt be attended with conſiderable expences and inconveniencies. We have found the charge run to 34 per cent. on the invoices from LONDON, delivered to the factory at RESHD, and on raw ſilk delivered in LONDON, duties and all charges paid, about 36 per cent. on the invoice.

Mr. ELTON's propoſals certainly merited great regard, and the more as they were calculated to obtain a conſumption for our cloth, in thoſe provinces of PERSIA, which for ſome time had hardly ſeen any of it, except a few thin GLOUCESTER cloths, imported by our factors in SMYRNA and ALEPPO, and thence brought into PERSIA by the ARMENIANS: formerly indeed our coarſe cloths were ſent to ARCHANGEL, as I have already mentioned, from whence the ARMENIANS and RUSSIANS carried them to ASTRACHAN, and part of them into PERSIA.

Mr. ELTON was alſo entitled to a kind reception, not only from the BRITISH merchants, but from the RUSSIAN court, as his project ſeemed equally beneficial to both nations. PETER THE GREAT was wont to give conſiderable premiums to the authors of any commercial ſchemes; but that cuſtom had been long neglected. However, as the BRITISH nation was in eſteem at the court of ST. PETERSBURG, we found no difficulty in obtaining leave to build a ſhip at CASAN for the CASPIAN navigation.

Favourable as our deſign appeared to the RUSSIAN intereſt, yet, whatever was the cauſe, it was not without the utmoſt importunity that we obtained permiſſion to build a ſecond ſhip for the ſame purpoſe.

Mr. ELTON ſet out upon an acquaintance with the old accounts of this trade, and with the treaty of commerce concluded in December 1734, between the crowns of GREAT BRITAIN and RUSSIA, whereby proviſion was made for carrying on a trade from GREAT BRITAIN, through the

RUSSIAN

RUSSIAN dominions, into PERSIA; and he had now occaſion to make a freſh appeal to it, by producing the eighth article of that treaty, which is as follows.

" It is agreed, that the ſubjects of GREAT BRITAIN may bring into " RUSSIA all ſorts of goods and merchandize, and carry them through " the dominions of RUSSIA, by the ſhorteſt and moſt convenient way to " PERSIA, paying 3 per cent. ad valorem, in rix dollars, for the duty and " tranſit of ſaid goods, and no more under any pretence whatſoever; " and preciſe orders ſhall be given for ſettling the rate, ſo that the ENG- " LISH merchants may at all times have carriage or tranſports ready, which " ſhall be furniſhed them at a reaſonable price; likewiſe that they may " bring all ſorts of goods and merchandize from PERSIA, and carry " them through RUSSIA with the like freedom and conveniency, paying " only 3 per cent. ad valorem, in rix dollars, after the manner which is " uſual in the cuſtom-houſe of RUSSIA; and, in order to prevent all " frauds on the part of the RUSSIAN officers, the BRITISH merchants ſhall " declare the goods which they deſign to paſs to or, from PERSIA, at the " firſt place they ſhall arrive in RUSSIA, and they ſhall be received and " admitted by their bill of loading, policy, or regiſter, and according to " their declared value, on which a duty of 3 per cent. ſhall be paid, with- " out opening or unpacking the goods, farther than is abſolutely neceſſa- " ry to ſatisfy the RUSSIAN officers, that the goods ſpecified by the bill, " policy, regiſter, and no other are contained in the packs or bales, in " which the goods are made up: but if the officer has reaſon to ſuſpect " the goods are not declared to their full value, within 20 per cent; in " that caſe he may take the goods and diſpoſe of them, paying the mer- " chants the value declared, with 20 per cent. over, without any deduc- " tion. When the officer has made his viſit, which ſhall be made " without any vexation or injury to the goods or package, he ſhall ſeal " with leads the packs or bales in which the goods are; he ſhall alſo " number and mark them, and give the merchants a certificate of their " having paid the duty; and by that certificate, the ſeal being marked

" and

" and numbered, they ſhall paſs through RUSSIA, to, and from PERSIA, " without any let or moleſtation: but in caſe the merchants do not paſs " all or any of the bales through RUSSIA, according to the declaration, " or break the ſeals, and take out any of the goods in RUSSIA, if there " be any reaſon to ſuſpect that the ſame has been done contrary to the " plain meaning and intent of this article, he ſhall be fined, and pay " the full declared value of ſuch bale or pack that is wanting, of which " the ſeal has been broken."

It may appear a little ſtrange that ſuch careful proviſions ſhould have been made for a trade through RUSSIA into PERSIA, at the ſame time that a commerce of this kind ſeems to be prohibited by the act of navigation; which ſays, " That no goods or commodities of the growth, " production, or manufacture of any country ſhall be brought to the " BRITISH dominions, from any place except from thoſe ports where " the ſaid goods or commodities can only, are, or uſually have been, " firſt ſhipped for tranſportation, and from no other places or countries, " under the penalty and forfeiture of all ſuch goods, &c." from whence it was concluded, that without an act of parliament, PERSIAN ſilk could not be introduced into ENGLAND, except from GAMBROON, by the EAST INDIA company, or from the ports in the LEVANT by the TURKEY merchants.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Further ſteps taken by Mr. ELTON. *Repreſentation made to his majeſty by the commiſſioners of trade, in conſequence of the papers tranſmitted by the honourable Mr.* FINCH *to his grace the duke of* NEWCASTLE. *Oppoſition made by the* EAST INDIA *and* TURKEY *companies. Remarks on the declining ſtate of the latter; and ſeveral public remonſtrances on this ſubject.*

NOtwithſtanding the difficulties mentioned, Mr. ELTON was not prevented from delivering to the honourable Mr. E. FINCH, beſides the memorial already recited, two papers containing an account of the privileges, regulations, and indulgencies neceſſary to be obtained from the RUSSIAN court, for the management of this new trade. Mr. FINCH accordingly tranſmitted theſe papers to the duke of NEWCASTLE, his majeſty's ſecretary of ſtate, who by the order of the king laid them before the commiſſioners of trade; and they in November of the ſame year made the following repreſentation.

To the king's moſt excellent majeſty.

May it pleaſe your majeſty,

"IN obedience to your majeſty's commands ſignified to us by his grace "the duke of NEWCASTLE, one of your majeſty's principal ſecreta- "ries of ſtate, in his letter dated the 16th of September laſt, we have "taken into our conſideration two papers put into the hands of Mr. "FINCH, your majeſty's miniſter at St. PETERSBURG, by captain ELTON,

"Containing a propoſal for opening a trade by the BRITISH merchants "in RUSSIA, to thoſe parts of PERSIA which are adjacent to the ſouth- "ern coaſts of the CASPIAN ſea. And do find,

" That captain ELTON's papers do contain a propoſal to the RUSSIA " company, for ſupplying MESCHED, the preſent capital of PERSIA, and " the countries adjacent, with all ſorts of woollen goods to a far greater " degree, and at much eaſier rates than they are now vended there: and " for inveſting our returns to GREAT BRITAIN in the beſt raw ſilks, and " other commodities produced in thoſe countries, near 50 per cent. cheaper " than at preſent by the way of TURKEY.

" The method captain ELTON propoſes for carrying on this trade, is " for the merchants to ſend their goods from GREAT BRITAIN to St. PE- " TERSBURG, and from thence, partly by land, and partly by water " down the VOLGA to ASTRACHAN; there to be ſhipped and carried croſs " the CASPIAN ſea to ASTRABAD, on the ſouth eaſt coaſt of the ſaid ſea, " from whence by land carriage to MESCHED is not quite 14 days jour- " ney for a caravan [7].

" Captain ELTON, in ſetting forth the many advantages this trade " muſt neceſſarily be attended with, obſerves amongſt other things, that " after the RUSSIA merchants ſhall have eſtabliſhed themſelves at MES- " CHED, they will not only have it in their power to ſupply many ex- " tenſive and populous countries with woollen goods, but may alſo in " time come to cloath the whole PERSIAN army.

" Having on this occaſion been attended by Sir JOHN THOMPSON, go- " vernor of the RUSSIA company, and alſo by ſeveral of the principal " merchants concerned in that trade; we communicated to them captain " ELTON's project, and have received their opinion in writing on the ſub- " ject matter thereof, wherein they inform us,

" That the great and many advantages which will accrue to this kingdom, " by ſo cheap and eaſy a conveyance of the manufactures thereof in this

[7] It is at leaſt 26 days journey.

" channel

" channel of trade, appeared to them ſo manifeſt, that they humbly con-
" ceived this propoſal deſerved the utmoſt attention and encouragement.

" That a trade through RUSSIA to PERSIA is certainly practicable, for-
" asmuch as the ſame is at preſent carried on by the ARMENIANS be-
" tween HOLLAND and PERSIA, through the RUSSIAN dominions.

" That this branch of trade, which will conſiſt principally in the ex-
" portation of woollen goods and importation of raw ſilk, muſt be of
" ſingular benefit to this kingdom; as it will be a means of ſending the
" manufactures of our own produce in the eaſieſt manner to market,
" and of bringing home the firſt materials of another great and beneficial
" manufactory, vaſtly cheaper than they can be had in any other manner.

" That by authentic accounts tranſmitted to them, the charge of bring-
" ing raw ſilk from PERSIA to St. PETERSBURG, by means of the water
" carriage, will be very inconſiderable inproportion to the land carriage
" from GHILAN in PERSIA, to ALEPPO or SMYRNA, the only ports in
" TURKEY for exportation to ENGLAND.

" That the Sophy of PERSIA, from an inclination to diſtreſs the TURKS,
" his natural enemies, and to favour the RUSSIANS, may poſſibly pro-
" hibit all trade with TURKEY, provided he can have a ſufficient de-
" mand for his ſilk through RUSSIA; in which caſe, unleſs this channel
" ſhould be opened to us, we ſhould be intirely deprived of that com-
" modity.

" That ſince the commencement of the war with SPAIN, PERSIAN ſilk
" is advanced very much, and, if the war continues, may ſtill be higher,
" and muſt always on any rupture with FRANCE or SPAIN, be expoſed
" to the like difficulty, which can only be remedied by opening ano-
" ther channel, and having the choice of two ways to ſupply the king-
" dom with that commodity.

" That the FRENCH do now chiefly ſupply TURKEY with woollen " goods, and gain upon us in that trade every day, and probably do and " may, through them, ſupply great part of PERSIA; whereas by this " eaſy conveyance, we ſhall be enabled to underſell them, and carry our " woollen manufactures into all parts of PERSIA cheaper than they can.

" They conclude with obſerving, that the only objection that occurred " to them againſt opening this trade, was the preſent act of navigation, " by which they apprehend themſelves debarred that liberty; and as " the reſtrictions of that act make it neceſſary for them to apply to par- " liament, they humbly hoped, that conſidering how beneficial this trade " will be to the kingdom, and that they can have no private views, nor " any excluſive trade from the reſt of his majeſty's ſubjects (any perſon " having a right to be made free of their company for five pounds) " they ſhould meet with encouragement, in their intended application " to parliament, for an exemption from that clauſe in the aforeſaid act of " navigation, from whence the preſent impediment ariſes.

" Whereupon we humbly beg leave to repreſent to your majeſty, that " it appears to us, as well from captain ELTON's papers, as from the re- " preſentation of the RUSSIA company, and our diſcourſe with them " thereupon; that this ſcheme, for opening a new branch of trade to " PERSIA through RUSSIA, may be very beneficial to this kingdom, and " may deſerve your majeſty's royal protection; but as no ſteps can be " made therein till the company ſhall have applied to parliament, for an " exemption from the above-mentioned clauſe in the act of navigation, " (whereby no goods or commodities that are of foreign growth, pro- " duction or manufacture, can be brought from any place or country, " but only from thoſe of the ſaid growth, production, or manufactory, " or from thoſe ports where the ſaid goods and commodities can only, or " are, or uſually have been firſt ſhipped for tranſportation) we ſhall at " preſent only obſerve to your majeſty, that when the ſaid application

" ſhall

" ſhall be made, the advantages or inconveniencies that may attend this " channel of commerce, will be thoroughly weighed and diſcuſſed.

All which is moſt humbly ſubmitted.

Sign'd M. BLADEN.
R. PLUMER.
JA. BRUDENELL.
AR. CROFT.

Whitehall, Nov. 11. 1740.

Captain ELTON's propoſal having thus met ſo favourable a reception in ENGLAND, as well as in RUSSIA; ſome members of the EAST INDIA company began to be alarmed, as if the ſcheme was practicable, in the extent which Mr. ELTON apprehended, and conſequently might prove an invaſion of their charter.

The trade to EAST INDIA thro' RUSSIA and PERSIA, was however conſidered by the majority of that company as a chimerical project; and as their trade to the gulph of PERSIA, was known to be not only remote from the CASPIAN, but differing alſo in kind, (for THEY could not export the raw ſilk of GHILAN, nor the RUSSIA COMPANY the wool of CARMENIA) their fears did not run very high.—But the TURKEY company, was in general extremely alarmed, and pleaded againſt this propoſed trade very ſtrenuouſly, objecting that it would be a violation not only of their charter, but of the act of navigation, ſo long eſteemed the bulwark of the BRITISH commerce. And tho' they never had any factory eſtabliſhed in the northern provinces of PERSIA, yet the trade carried on from thence to ALEPPO and SMYRNA by the ARMENIANS, had in a great meaſure centered in their company, by the purchaſes which their agents were wont to make of thoſe ARMENIANS. They attempted to corroborate their arguments, by urging an excluſive right, as eſtabliſhed by the ſanction of that cuſtom. The RUSSIA company, on the other hand, inſiſted that when the act of navigation was made, it was not imagined that a ſafe paſſage could be obtained through the RUSSIAN domi-

dominions into PERSIA; which was now found not only practicable, but for the intereſt of the nation to be attempted. That their charter is more antient and extenſive than either that of the EAST INDIA or TURKEY companies; and they ſhould think it ſtrange if they were excluded from a right of trading to the dominions of PERSIA, which are actually mentioned in the body of their charter. The conteſt however ran very high, and whilſt the TURKEY merchants employed all their intereſts to prevent a bill paſſing in favour of the propoſed trade, the RUSSIA merchants attacked the excluſive privileges of the TURKEY company; urging that they were detrimental to the national intereſt, and that our trade to TURKEY had decayed very much for theſe ſeven years paſt, chiefly owing to thoſe privileges, together with the arbitrary and improper manner in which the trade itſelf was conducted. They alſo urged the declarations of ſeveral of their own members, who in the year 1718, had complained to the houſe of commons, of the partial and unnational manner in which the trade was managed. Theſe complaints had been made by Sir PETER DELME, JOHN LOCK, RALPH RADCLIFFE, JAMES LOCK, EDWARD RADCLIFFE, JOHN HANGER, eſquires, and Sir JOSEPH EYLES, who then delivered a memorial to the effect as follows.

"THE complainants admit that the company have long carried on "their trade to TURKEY, ſometimes by private, ſometimes by ge-"neral ſhips; they deſire only to remind the honourable committee, that "by the whole tenor of the old records produced by the company, it "appears that they themſelves have frequently thought the delay of ſhip-"ping to be of ſuch dangerous conſequence, that if their ſhips departed "not annually, liberty was given to each and every member, to export "his own goods, in ſuch manner and by ſuch means as he ſhould think "proper. The complainants think it unneceſſary to enter into a conſider-"ation of the ſtate of trade, fifty or a hundred years ago, or whether "the DUTCH or the FRENCH had any trade in thoſe days; they deſire to "come to the preſent times, and to conſider what methods the company "have purſued ſince the concluſion of the laſt wars, and the alterations

"they

" they have lately made; and it appears that they have carried on, what " is uſually called an open trade; that is, by ſuch ſhips as the reſpective " members did appoint to export their cloth, and the cloth of ſuch " other members as might pleaſe to load upon them, to depart at ſuch " ſeaſons of the year, as were found to be moſt convenient, which was " uſually in autumn, or by chriſtmas.

" Accordingly the laſt cloth ſhips did depart about that ſeaſon of the " year in 1717, and many members of the company expecting the trade " would continue to be carried on in the ſame manner, proceeded in " buying and finiſhing cloth, as uſual, for the year 1718.

" But on the 26th of March 1718, they reſolved, that if any mem- " ber ſhould ſend cloth to TURKEY in any other manner, they would " levy 20 per cent. on ſuch member's cloth in TURKEY; adding, that " they would conſider of general ſhips on the 23d of October following, " and not before: and in their own preamble they give this remarkable " reaſon for their alteration, that it was in order to raiſe the value of " ENGLISH manufactures abroad, and ſilk at home, hereby evidently de- " monſtrating their private advantage, that of the nation conſiſting more " in a large conſumption, than in a large price; as the one may beat our " neighbours out of the trade, whilſt the other muſt neceſſarily give " them a ſhare in it. Now although many members thought this a great " hardſhip, yet did they acquieſce, in full expectation, that at the time " preſcribed, they ſhould be permitted to export their cloth in the com- " pany's own way.

" But on the 6th of November, they reſolved to adjourn the further " conſideration of ſhipping for two months longer, and this made that " evident which was before ſuſpected, that they really intended no ſhip- " ping at all: whereupon a repreſentation of this grievance was made to " the miniſtry, who became ſo ſenſible of this extraordinary way of " proceeding, ſo highly interfering with the common good, that Mr. ſe-

" cretary

" cretary CRAGGS ſent for the company, and deſired them to re-conſider " this matter; which the company did in a general court, aſſembled on " the 4th of December, when they reſolved, that they would chuſe ſhips " for the immediate exportation of cloth, on the 8th of January follow- " ing, and appointed a committee to attend Mr. ſecretary with this re- " ſolution. But when the 8th of January came, they, by a majority of " one vote only, inſtead of chuſing ſhips, ordered only a ſurvey of ſhips, " and a report to be made. On the 22d of January, they reſolved, that " they would, in proper time, chuſe ſhips, but not to depart before the " 1ſt of July next: now, the 1ſt of July was generally underſtood to " mean winter, and in that caſe it would have completed two years " prohibition of trade.

" This irregular and uncertain proceeding of the company, was the " cauſe that your complainants thought the interpoſition of this honour- " able houſe of commons moſt proper to their relief, in the exportation " of that great quantity of cloth, which has been ſo long locked up, " to their own and the nation's prejudice.

" And they humbly offer the following reaſons for it, that the com- " pany's charter does not warrant them in ſuch a prohibition or re- " ſtraint of trade; nor will WESTMINSTER-HALL warrant their levying " twenty in the hundred upon their members eſtates; beſides, ſuch re- " ſtraint cannot be for the common good of the woollen manufactures of " this kingdom, but evidently the contrary, as it neceſſarily encourages " the FRENCH and DUTCH trade to TURKEY.

" Neverthelefs it is granted, that there was cloth remaining unſold, and " particularly at ALEPPO; but moſt of it would have been long ſince " diſpoſed of, were it not for an underſtanding between the managers " here and in TURKEY, in order to raiſe the price of cloth abroad, and " that of ſilk at home.

" This reſtraint may be alſo a great cauſe why ſo much wool is ſent " to the FRENCH, they having a vent to TURKEY, whilſt we have none;

" and

" and to prevent the exportation of woollen goods to TURKEY at this " critical juncture, when no more can be ſent either to OLD or NEW " SPAIN, is of the greateſt moment; ſo that the complainants hope, that " ſuch members of the company as have a right to trade, will meet no " obſtruction.

" As to the objection, that the trade has been over-driven; will not that " in the nature of the thing, reduce the exportation, as far as may be " needful, without a forcible reſtraint? It is ſtrange that a majority of the " company, ſome of whom are not at all concerned in the trade, and " others but little, ſhould have more regard to the welfare of their largeſt " trading members, than they have for themſelves and the nation.

" Our legiſlature never thought that over-driving the trade to PORTU- " GAL, SPAIN, or ITALY, was a ſufficient reaſon to truſt thoſe traders " with a power of reſtraining it at their pleaſure.

" It muſt be allowed, that the preſent ſituation of affairs has made a " great alteration in almoſt every thing; low intereſt raiſes land, enlarges " trade, reduces profit; and therefore theſe members, contrary to the rea- " ſon of things, deſire that cloth may be bought the cheaper at home, " and ſell the dearer abroad; likewiſe that ſilk may be bought the cheaper " abroad, and ſell the dearer at home.

" In the mean while, the FRENCH and DUTCH are encouraged to ſup- " ply their woollen trade abroad, and their ſilk manufactures at home; " and our own manufacturers, both in wool and ſilk, are in a great mea- " ſure deprived of their employments: the TURKS alſo at this very time " carry on a cloth manufacture of their own.

" There can be no doubt, but the ſpeedy exportation of what is now " provided, will be a greater encouragement towards the buying more " cloth, than the detaining it can be, in as much as moſt of this muſt " be ſold, before another ſupply can follow it: but were it otherwiſe, it

" is preſumed, that thoſe who have induſtriouſly laid out their eſtates in " cloth ought not to be hindered, for the ſake of thoſe who have neg- " lected and it is probable, that the complainants are as likely to buy " more cloth, as any other member whatever.

" Although the company have frequently practiſed this way of trading " by general ſhips, yet it has often occaſioned miſunderſtandings be- " tween the members themſelves, and alſo between the members and " manufacturers. Two inſtances may be offered; one upon the like occa- " ſion with this. Some members made application to king CHARLES in " council; the company was heard, and pretended many difficulties: the " king himſelf aſked the queſtion, whether there might be any members, " who notwithſtanding what was alledged, were willing to trade; and it " was anſwered there might. Then, ſaid the king, they ſhall trade, and " ordered the trade to be opened.

" The other was a complaint of the manufacturers to the houſe of " commons, upon a delay of ſhipping, when an annual export for TUR- " KEY, in ſummer for ALEPPO, and in winter for SMYRNA and CONSTAN- " TINOPLE, would have probably been enacted by law, had not the " company, by large promiſes of doing the thing, prevented it.

" Now, whether this pretended power to ſtop trade be warrant- " able, or whether it has been exerciſed for the common good, " is humbly ſubmitted to this honourable committee?"

It is natural to imagine that ſuch bold and explicit declarations as theſe, would be productive of enquiries into the ſtate of the TURKEY company; and it was accordingly debated very warmly in both houſes of parliament, whether it would not be for the intereſt of the nation to leave the commerce to TURKEY free and open, as the PORTUGAL and SPANISH trades are.

A fair concluſion could not indeed be drawn from this memorial, for tho' ſeveral errors were committed twenty three years before, it did not follow that

that the TURKEY company ſtill purſued falſe maxims, deſtructive of that trade by which ſo many had been enriched. Upon the whole, this company had not ſo great reaſon to be alarmed at the propoſal of the CASPIAN trade; for the quantity of raw ſilk produced in the PERSIAN dominions, and brought into ENGLAND by way of RUSSIA, was, and probably would have been, very ſhort of that which is imported from TURKEY: and though ſome of our woollens had found their way into the weſtern parts of PERSIA from TURKEY, the quantity of late years had been but ſmall; the goods uſed there being moſtly FRENCH and DUTCH, as already mentioned.

The TURKEY company however was really in unhappy circumſtances, as appears from the following memorial, given in a little before this time, complaining of the progreſs of the FRENCH in the LEVANT trade.

" To his grace the duke of NEWCASTLE, his majeſty's principal ſecretary " of ſtate.

" THE governor and company of merchants of ENGLAND trading " to the LEVANT ſeas, having lately received from his majeſty's " ambaſſador at CONSTANTINOPLE, an account of the great increaſe the " FRENCH have made in their cloth trade to TURKEY, and the encou- " ragement given to it by the public, with obſervations on the prejudices " derived to our ENGLISH cloth, and the danger there is of loſing that " branch of our trade; they think it their duty humbly to lay the ſame " before your grace, and to annex an account of the FRENCH importati- " ons of cloth into TURKEY; together with a ſtate of the BRITISH wool- " len manufactures in thoſe parts for ſome years paſt.

" All the FRENCH woollen manufactures for the LEVANT, are made in " LANGUEDOC, and managed by the province under the approbation of " the court. Beſides particular manufactories, there are about twelve " which have been built by the province. In each of theſe there are con- " veniencies for perfecting, even to the embaling, 1000 cloths of about

" 40 yards each, yearly; and the province lets theſe manufactories rent " free, upon an engagement annually to make 300 only of theſe cloths, " and allows five livres for every ſuch cloth.

" We have the ſame ſource of materials, if the public would give any " help and encouragement to preſerve ſo valuable a trade." And the ambaſſador adds; " As the trade to the LEVANT has been a depoſit of your " country in your hands, you will not ſuffer it to periſh there (tho' with- " out any miſmanagement of yours) without calling for help." He ſays further, " That in the ſtation he is in, he thought himſelf obliged " to give us this information, as well in regard to the trade, as to his " majeſty and the public.

" The FRENCH import at CONSTANTINOPLE and ALEPPO about 12000 " cloths yearly; and at each of theſe places there have been for ſeveral " years paſt, and ſtill remain large quantities of ENGLISH cloth unſold, " occaſioned by ſo large an importation of FRENCH cloth; particularly " at ALEPPO in February laſt (after the company's ſhip came away from " SCANDEROON) about 5000 ENGLISH cloths remained there unſold, at " CONSTANTINOPLE above 4000 cloths, and at SMYRNA above 3000 " cloths.

June 28, 1739. WILLIAM DUNSTER, deputy-governor.

This was ſoon followed and confirmed by a ſecond memorial, as follows:

" To his grace the duke of NEWCASTLE, his majeſty's principal ſecre- " tary of ſtate.

" THE governor and company of merchants of ENGLAND trading " to the LEVANT ſeas, had the honour to lay before your grace, " on the 28th June 1739, a repreſentation of the great increaſe the " FRENCH have made in their cloth trade to TURKEY, and the encou- " ragement

" ragement given to it by the public, with obſervations on the preju-
" dice derived to our ENGLISH cloth, and the danger there is of loſing
" that branch of trade.

" The ſaid company having lately received advice from Sir EVERARD
" FAWKENER, his majeſty's ambaſſador, of advantages ſince obtained by
" the FRENCH from the PORT, do think it their duty to lay the ſame
" before your grace.

I. " A reduction of their cuſtom upon cloth, from 40 to 30 dollars
" the bale of 20 pieces.

II. " A total abolition of the duty called meſſataria, which is two dol-
" lars and one ſixth of a dollar per bale of cloth, and one and half
" per cent. ad valorem, upon all goods ſold by weight.

" Thoſe advantages obtained by the FRENCH in TURKEY, with the
" great encouragement given them by their government, encreaſe our
" apprehenſions of not being able to cope with them in the cloth trade,
" without aſſiſtance from this government.

London, Sept. 9. 1740. WILLIAM DUNSTER, deputy-governor.

Theſe papers being laid before the commiſſioners of trade, they made the following report.

" To their excellencies the lords juſtices.

" May it pleaſe your excellencies,

" IN obedience to your excellencies command, ſignified to us by Mr.
" STONE, in his letter of the 15th of September, we have taken
" into conſideration the two memorials from the governor and compa-
" ny of merchants of ENGLAND trading to the LEVANT ſeas, delivered to
" his grace the duke of NEWCASTLE, one of his majeſty's principal ſe-

" cretaries

" cretaries of ſtate, ſetting forth the diſadvantages the ENGLISH trade lies " under, by the encreaſe of the FRENCH cloth trade to TURKEY; and " alſo the treaty of commerce lately concluded between the OTTOMAN " PORT and FRANCE, whereupon we humbly take leave to repreſent to " your excellencies,

" That we have been attended on this occaſion by MR. DUNSTER, de- " puty-governor of the ſaid company, and by ſome of the principal mer- " chants trading to the LEVANT ſeas, and having had ſome diſcourſe with " them, they informed us,

" That their trade lay under many conſiderable diſadvantages, which " had occaſioned a very great decreaſe thereof for ſome years paſt. By " the many encouragements given in FRANCE to the woollen manufac- " tures, the FRENCH were enabled to underſell them, at the ſeveral ports " in the LEVANT; by means of which great quantities of BRITISH cloth " exported to TURKEY remained unſold in their houſes in that country.

" That the company is at a very high expence, to the amount of " 8000 l. a year, in maintaining the ambaſſador his majeſty ſends to the " PORT, as well as conſuls, and other public officers in that country, " which in the preſent low condition of their trade, they are not able to " ſupport.

" That they apprehend if a bounty was to be allowed on the exporta- " tion of cloth to the LEVANT (which might include SPAIN, when a " trade ſhall be again open with that crown, and alſo ITALY) and the " duty on TURKEY ſilk and grograms imported into GREAT BRITAIN, " lowered; it might be a means, not only of relieving them in their pre- " ſent difficulties, but might enable them to continue the expence of the " public miniſters at the PORT, and to carry on this valuable branch of " trade with advantage; whereas at preſent it labours under a large debt, " contracted by the ſaid company, which they have no hope of paying, " while it continues in this drooping condition.

" As

" As to the treaty lately concluded between the OTTOMAN PORT and " FRANCE, which we had communicated to them, they acquainted us " that they did not ſo clearly ſee what advantages were given thereby to " the FRENCH; but as there was a tariff to be ſettled, in conſequence of " this treaty, they ſhould be better judges when they ſhould ſee the ſaid " tariff, of which they expected ſome further account from the ambaſſa- " dor at the PORT.

" But we muſt beg leave to obſerve to your excellencies, that we very " much queſtion whether the expedients they propoſe be practicable; and " we cannot take upon us to determine, whether the parliament will come " into any act for reducing the duties on TURKEY ſilks and grograms, or " for granting a bounty on the exportation of woollen manufactures, but " more eſpecially for a partial bounty.

" We muſt likewiſe repreſent to your excellencies, that having aſked " the ſaid merchants whether it would not be for their ſervice, that his " majeſty's ambaſſador at the PORT ſhould be inſtructed to apply for the " obtaining all the advantages granted to any other nation, they ſeemed " to decline it, on account of the encreaſe of expence, ſuch application " muſt be attended with; and as no other expedient hitherto has occur- " red to us, that might be effectual in the preſent caſe, we muſt content " ourſelves with ſtating to your excellencies the matters of fact as they " appeared to us upon our diſcourſe with the ſaid merchants.

All which is moſt humbly ſubmitted.

MARTIN BLADEN.
R. PLUMER.
JA. BRUDENELL.
R. CROFT.

Whitehall, October 9, 1740.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

An act of parliament obtained for the CASPIAN *trade.* BRITISH *factors ſent into the north of* PERSIA. *The* RUSSIAN *miniſtry alarmed at Mr.* ELTON's *entering into the ſervice of* NADIR SHAH.

WHATEVER reaſons at that time prevented the TURKEY company from receiving ſuch national encouragement as they ſeemed to think neceſſary, it was one popular argument in favour of the propoſed trade to PERSIA, that it would not ſtand in need of ſuch aſſiſtance, and would be free to every ſubject on the common terms of the ſmall fine or contribution of five pounds. The encreaſe of the foreign conſumption of our woollen manufactures, and the introduction of raw ſilk on the eaſieſt terms, were alſo reaſons of the moſt perſuaſive kind, to bring the parliament to a reſolution in favour of it. Several members of the RUSSIA company were called to the bar of the houſe of commons, particularly Mr. ROBERT DINGLEY, and Mr. ROBERT CRAMMOND, who managed the point ſo well, that the arguments produced by the TURKEY company, had no longer any weight.

The national benefit being therefore apparent to both houſes of parliament, an act was paſſed that ſeſſions as follows.

" WHEREAS by letters patent, dated at WESTMINSTER the 26th of fe-
" bruary, in the firſt and ſecond years of the reign of king PHILIP and
" queen MARY, their majeſties did give and grant to certain perſons therein men-
" tioned, by the name of merchants adventurers of ENGLAND, for the diſcovery
" of lands, territories, iſles, dominions, and ſeignories unknown, and not be-
" fore their late adventure or enterprize by ſeas or navigation commonly fre-
" quented, the ſole privilege of trading to the dominions and territories of the
" emperor of RUSSIA.

" And

" And whereas the liberties, powers, and privileges granted by the ſaid letters " patent, were afterwards, by an act of parliament made in the eighth year of " the reign of queen ELIZABETH, confirmed to the ſaid merchants, and their ſuc- " ceſſors, by the name of the fellowſhip of ENGLISH merchants for diſcovery of " new trades (now commonly called the RUSSIA company;) by which the ſaid fel- " lowſhip are to have the ſole privilege of trading to and from the dominions and " territories of the emperor of RUSSIA, lying northwards, north-eaſtwards, and " north-weſtwards, from the city of LONDON; as alſo to the countries of ARME- " NIA MAJOR or MINOR, MEDIA, HYRCANIA, PERSIA, or the CASPIAN ſea:

" And whereas by an act made in the tenth and eleventh years of the reign of " king WILLIAM the third, to enlarge the trade to RUSSIA, any ſubject of this " realm hath a right to be made free of the ſaid fellowſhip, paying for ſuch his " admiſſion five pounds and no more:

" And whereas by an act of parliament paſſed in the twelfth year of the reign " of his late majeſty king CHARLES the ſecond, entituled an act for encouraging " and increaſing of ſhipping and navigation, it is amongſt other things enacted, " that no goods of foreign growth, production, and manufacture, which " by the ſaid act are to be brought into ENGLAND, IRELAND, WALES, the iſlands " of GUERNSEY or JERSEY, or town of BERWICK UPON TWEED, in ENGLISH or " other ſhipping navigated in ſuch manner as therein is mentioned, ſhall be ſhip- " ped or brought from any other place or places, country or countries, but only " from thoſe of the ſaid growth, production or manufacture, or from thoſe ports " where the ſaid goods and commodities could only, or were, or uſually had been " firſt ſhipped for tranſportation, and from none other places or countries, " under the penalties of the forfeiture of all ſuch goods, as alſo the ſhip in which " they are imported, with all her guns, furniture, ammunition, tackle, and ap- " parel, to be divided and recovered, as in the ſaid act is directed, with proviſo " that the ſaid act ſhall not extend, or be meant, to reſtrain and prohibit the im- " porting of any of the commodities of the STREIGHTS or LEVANT ſeas, in EN- " GLISH built ſhipping, and navigated as therein is directed, from the uſual ports " or places for lading them within the ſaid STREIGHTS or LEVANT ſeas, or the im- " porting any EAST INDIA commodities, loaden in the like ſhipping, and ſo na- " vigated from the uſual place or places for lading of them, in any part of " thoſe ſeas, to the ſouthward and eaſtward of CABO BONA SPERANZA, although

" the ſaid commodities be not of the very growth of the ſaid ports or places re-
" ſpectively:

" And whereas at the time of paſſing the ſaid act laſt-mentioned, it was not
" uſual to bring to this kingdom raw ſilk, and other goods and commodities of
" the growth, produce or manufacture of PERSIA, through the dominions and
" territories of the emperor of RUSSIA:

" And whereas it may be of great advantage to this kingdom to open a trade
" to and from PERSIA through RUSSIA, by promoting the conſumption of the
" woollen and other manufactures, goods, and commodities thereof, if raw ſilk,
" and other the goods and commodities of the growth, produce, and manufac-
" ture of PERSIA, be permitted to be imported into this kingdom from RUSSIA, in
" return for ſuch woollen and other manufactures as ſhall be exported from hence
" into RUSSIA, and from thence carried into PERSIA, and not otherwiſe; be it
" enacted, by the king's moſt excellent majeſty, by and with the advice and con-
" ſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons, in this preſent parlia-
" ment aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that from and after the
" 24th day of June, 1741, it ſhall and may be lawful to and for any perſon or
" perſons free or to be free of the ſaid fellowſhip of ENGLISH merchants, for diſ-
" covery of new trades, commonly called the RUSSIA company, excluſive of all
" others, to bring and import into this kingdom, in BRITISH built ſhipping, na-
" vigated according to law, from any port or place, of or belonging to the CZAR
" or emperor of RUSSIA, raw ſilk, or any other goods or commodities of the
" growth, produce, and manufacture of PERSIA, (provided ſuch manufacture be
" made of the growth or produce of PERSIA) being purchaſed by barter, with
" woollen or other manufactures, goods or commodities exported from GREAT
" BRITAIN to RUSSIA, and from thence carried into PERSIA (gold and ſilver in
" coin or bullion excepted); or with the produce ariſing from the ſales of ſuch
" manufactures, goods, or commodities ſo exported to RUSSIA, and carried into
" PERSIA as aforeſaid, and not otherwiſe; upon paying or ſecuring the cuſtoms
" and other duties, now payable for the ſame, by any law now in force, according
" to ſuch rules, methods, and directions, and in the ſame manner and form, and
" with ſuch allowances, abatements, diſcounts, and drawbacks, and under ſuch
" penalties, forfeitures, and diſabilities, as are by law preſcribed and practiſed on
" the importation of the like goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of
" PERSIA, imported into this kingdom, from any port or place in the LEVANT
" ſeas,

" ſeas, by any perſon or perſons free of the LEVANT or TURKEY company; any " thing in the ſaid recited act, made in the twelfth year of the reign of king " CHARLES the ſecond, to the contrary thereof in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

" And be it further enacted, that no ſilk or other produce, commodities, or " manufactures of PERSIA, ſhall be imported into GREAT BRITAIN through RUS- " SIA, by virtue of this act, unleſs the importer or importers thereof do take an " oath, or, being of the people called Quakers, a ſolemn affirmation, before the " collector, cuſtomer, or comptroller of his majeſty's cuſtoms, (who are here- " by impowered to adminiſter the ſame) at the port or place of importation, " that, to the beſt of his or their knowledge and belief, the ſilk and other the " produce, commodities, or manufactures of PERSIA, contained in his or their " entry or entries, was or were really and truly purchaſed by barter with woollen " or other manufactures, goods, or commodities exported from GREAT BRITAIN " to RUSSIA, and from thence carried into PERSIA, (not being gold or ſilver in " coin or bullion) or with the produce ariſing from the ſales of ſuch woollen " or other manufactures, goods or commodities ſo exported as aforeſaid, and not " otherwiſe; and in default of taking ſuch oath or affirmation, all ſuch ſilk or " other the produce, commodities, or manufactures of PERSIA, ſo imported " from RUSSIA, ſhall be liable to be ſeized and forfeited, in like manner as if " the ſame had been imported contrary to the ſaid act, made in the twelfth year of " the reign of his late majeſty king CHARLES the ſecond, intituled, an act for en- " couraging and increaſing of ſhipping and navigation.

" Provided always, and be it further enacted, that nothing in this act contain- " ed ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to extend, to the permitting the uſing or wear- " ing, in this kingdom, any wrought ſilks, or other the goods or commodities " of the manufacture of PERSIA, mentioned in the act paſſed in the eleventh year " of the reign of his late majeſty king WILLIAM the third, intituled, an act for " the more effectual employing the poor, by encouraging the manufactures of " this kingdom, which may be imported by virtue hereof through RUSSIA; but " the ſame act, and every clauſe therein contained, ſo far as the ſame relates to " the importing the ſaid goods into the port of LONDON only, and to the entry " thereof, and payment of the duties, and putting the ſame into proper ware- " houſes, and exporting them on ſecurity, and to the ſeizing and proſecuting " thoſe goods, and dividing the produce of ſuch ſeizures, and keeping proper " accounts thereof, and ſubjecting the perſons concerned to penalties and diſabi-

" ties, for breach of the ſaid act, ſhall be practiſed, and be of full force and ef-
" fect for the purpoſes aforeſaid, as if the ſaid act, and the ſeveral clauſes there-
" in contained, were particularly, and at large, repeated and ſet down in the body
" of this act.

" And be it further enacted, that if any queſtion, diſpute, or doubts ſhall a-
" riſe, whether any of the goods or commodities to be imported by virtue of
" this act, be of the growth, produce, or manufacture of PERSIA, or not, or
" were imported contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, and the
" ſame ſhall, for that reaſon, be ſeized as forfeited, the proof thereof ſhall be
" incumbent on the importer or claimer, and not upon the officer or informer;
" and the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms, if they ſee ſufficient cauſe, ſhall and may
" direct the officer of the cuſtoms, who made the ſeizure, to proceed in the pro-
" ſecution thereof, or not; and judgment thereupon ſhall be given for recovery
" of the forfeiture.

" And it be it further enacted, that if any action or ſuit ſhall be commenced
" againſt any perſon or perſons, for any thing done in purſuance of this act, the
" defendant or defendants in ſuch action or ſuit may plead the general iſſue, and
" give this act, and the ſpecial matter, in evidence, at any trial to be had there-
" upon; and that the ſame was done in purſuance and by authority of this act;
" and if it ſhall appear ſo to have been done, then the jury ſhall find for the de-
" fendant or defendants; and if the plaintiff ſhall be nonſuited, or diſcontinue his
" action, after the defendant or defendants ſhall have appeared, or if judgment
" ſhall be given upon any verdict or demurrer againſt the plaintiff, the defendant
" or defendants ſhall and may recover treble coſts, and have the like remedy for
" the ſame, as defendants have in other caſes by law.

" Provided alſo, that any thing in this act contained ſhall not extend, or be
" conſtrued to extend, to hinder or deprive the corporation of the united com-
" pany of merchants of ENGLAND, trading to the EAST INDIES, from having and
" enjoying all and every ſuch powers, privileges, franchiſes, benefits, matters,
" or things, as do or ſhall belong to them, or which they could or might en-
" joy in any manner of ways, if this act had not been made; any thing in this
" act to the contrary notwithſtanding.

" And

" And be it further enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, that this ſhall be ad-
" judged and deemed to be a public act, and ſhall be judicially taken notice of
" as ſuch, by all judges, juſtices, and other perſons, without ſpecially pleading
" the ſame."

The RUSSIA company now prepared to ſend factors into GHILAN, and with them a conſiderable quantity of cloth, and other woollen goods. This enterprize required, in a more peculiar manner, great unanimity. The ARMENIANS were already fixed in the CASPIAN commerce; and it is natural for people who have long enjoyed the ſole poſſeſſion of any thing, to reaſon themſelves into a perſuaſion that they are the only rightful proprietors of it, and conſequently that they do themſelves but juſtice in employing all their ſkill and induſtry to oppoſe thoſe who pretend to ſhare with them. The RUSSIA company was very early apprized of what they were to expect from the ARMENIANS; it would have been therefore their intereſt to eſtabliſh one houſe only in GHILAN, in order to prevent the jealouſy and diſcord, which are but too frequent in our factories abroad, and which might be apprehended in ſo remote and lawleſs a country as PERSIA. However, as a preſage of future diſaſters, ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable RUSSIA traders, either from a jealouſy which they had entertained of thoſe who had given Mr. ELTON the firſt countenance in this enterprize, or from a more judicious ſuſpicion of ELTON himſelf, declined throwing their effects into his hands, but ſent Mr. JAMES BROWN, Mr. MARTIN KYCK VAN MIEROP, and Mr. RICHARD WILDER into GHILAN, who arrived there in 1742, with cloth and other manufactures to a very conſiderable value. Mr. ELTON was not a little mortified at this ſtep; however the firſt of the two BRITISH ſhips built at CASAN, and now completed, was put under his direction. Being alſo powerfully ſupported by large conſignments of cloth, and other proper goods, he went into PERSIA *.

They are but ill acquainted with life, who do not know that it is checquered with evil, and the pleaſures and advantages of it alloyed with

* See WOODROOFE's journal, chap. 22, and 23.

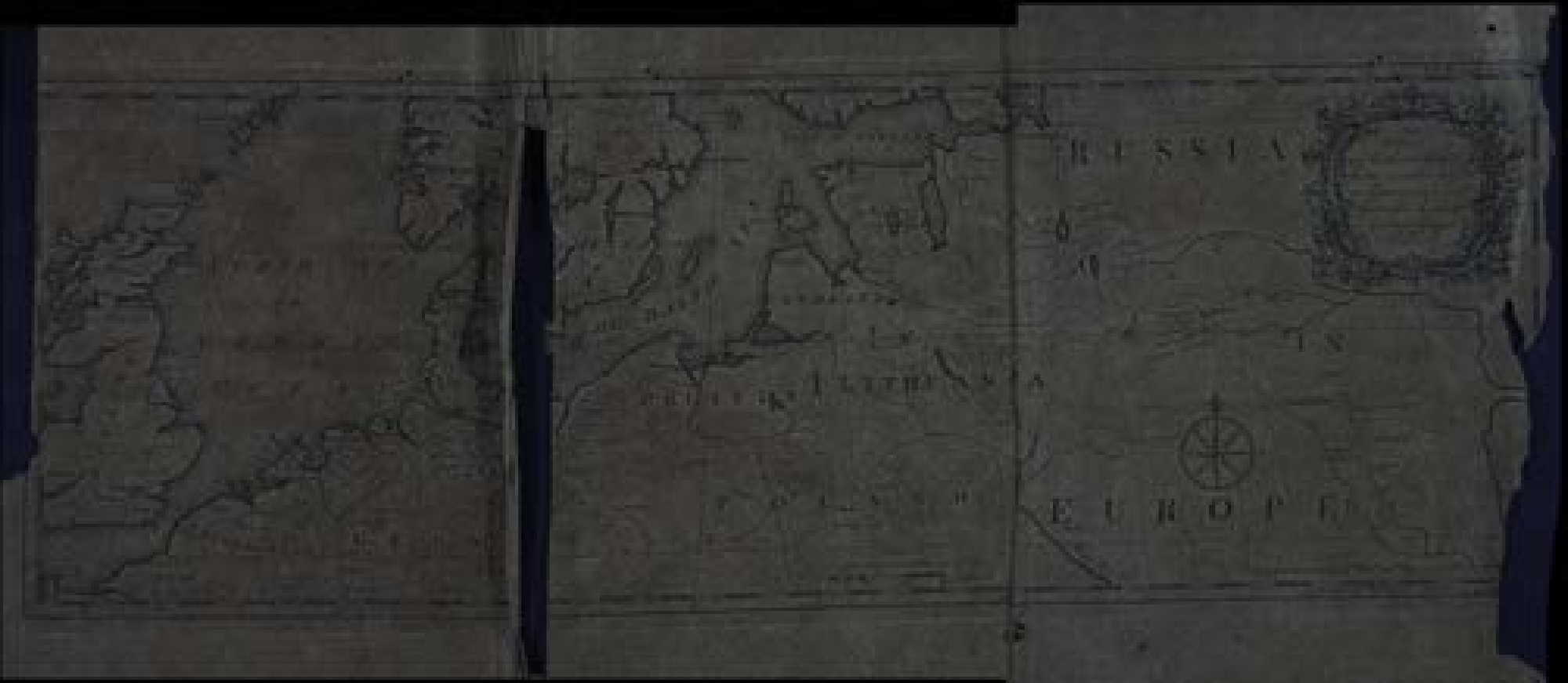
their

their contraries. I have already obſerved, that Mr. ELTON had been employed in the RUSSIAN ſervice, and was bred a ſeaman. He had many abilities, but wanted ſome talents that were requiſite on the preſent occaſion.

No ſooner was he arrived in GHILAN, than a quarrel enſued between him and the RUSSIAN conſul ARAPOFF. Whether this was owing to Mr. ELTON's being deficient in that ſkilful moderation, ſo eſſential to the good conduct of commercial affairs, I will not pretend to ſay; ARAPOFF appeared to me a very honeſt and diſcreet man: this however is moſt certain, and in ELTON's favour, that very ſoon after his arrival in PERSIA, captain WOODROOFE, who commanded the firſt BRITISH ſhip built for this trade, was treated by the RUSSIAN ſecretary at DERBEND, with great cruelty, as will be fully related hereafter.

Ambition had certainly a ſhare in Mr. ELTON's reſolutions; for he immediately entered into the ſervice of NADIR SHAH, as ſuperintendent of the PERSIAN coaſt of the CASPIAN, with deſign to build ſhips in the EUROPEAN manner, if it ſhould be found practicable. The news of this ſoon reached the factors of St. PETERSBURG, but in a very obſcure and imperfect manner. It gave them however ſome concern for the ſecurity of their effects, and ſtill more for the offence, which they eaſily foreſaw would be taken by the RUSSIAN court.

CHAP.


RUSSIA
EUROPE

CHAP. X.

The author's voyage to RIGA. *A deſcription of* ELSINEUR, *the Sound, and the forts that guard this paſſage.*

IN February 1743, I accepted the offer of a partnerſhip in Mr. DINGLEY's houſe at St. PETERSBURG; in conſequence hereof I was made acquainted with the CASPIAN trade, which was then in its infancy, and the object of the ſanguine hopes of ſeveral of our moſt conſiderable merchants. From that time I indulged a deſire of ſeeing PERSIA, a country ſo renowned for great and memorable events both in antient and modern hiſtory.

In April following I embarked in the river THAMES on board an ENGLISH ſhip bound for RIGA. The ſeveral wrecks which then appeared in the ſands and ſhallows on the eaſt coaſt of ENGLAND, gave me but melancholy impreſſions of the danger of a ſea life. We had ſevere weather for the ſeaſon, and the ſhip being very old and crazy, rendered my ſituation by no means agreeable. It is perhaps hard to ſay if the motion a ſhip, or the ſmell of tar is moſt apt to create the ſea ſickneſs; when this ſickneſs is extreme, certainly nothing but the acuteſt diſtemper can exceed it: gentle acids, and cooling foods are the greateſt relief.

It was now the beginning of May, yet the winds in the north ſea were extremely cold. The BALTIC is ſeldom clear of ice till the middle of that month, and the winds which paſs over it are generally piercing. At length we arrived in the SOUND. This STREIGHT is about two ENGLISH miles broad; the caſtle of KRONENBURG, on the DANISH ſide, guards the entrance. ELSIMBURG is on the oppoſite ſide, on the SWEDISH continent. In ſome winters this paſſage is frozen up.

The

The duty paid here at different periods of time, has varied very much; it is now near 3 4ths per cent. upon moſt kinds of goods, and it is ſaid to amount to 70,000 crowns [a]. The original of this duty was to defray the charge of light-houſes and buoys, which the DANES fixed at proper places, for the ſafety and convenience of navigators; thus they eaſily procured the conſent of the ſeveral princes and ſtates who traded into the BALTIC, to which this is a more important paſs, than GIBRALTAR is to the MEDITERRANEAN. In times of war veſſels of moderate burthen have paſſed the greater BELT at the back of ZEALAND; though the navigation here is more precarious, and the STREIGHTS of NEWBERG are alſo very narrow. In 1644, and the following year, the HOLLANDERS paſſed the SOUND in merchant-men as well as ſhips of war, though the SWEDES, with whom they were at war, were then poſſeſſed of both ſides of the paſſage.

The cannon now mounted in KRONENBURG caſtle are large, and probably much bigger than they were in thoſe days; but a ſufficient depth of water, a leading gale, and intrepid mariners might eaſily ſurmount any obſtacle to be found there, ſhould neceſſity require the trial. This caſtle projects into the water, and is ſo far detached from the town as to enjoy an open and delightful proſpect, and by its buildings, extent, and verdure within the walls, is rendered an agreeable place [b].

The conſuls of ENGLAND, FRANCE, HOLLAND, and SWEDEN, reſide in the town. Mr. FENWICK, the ENGLISH conſul, received me very politely. ELSENEUR is a neat little town, watered by a ſpring in the eaſt part of it; and the ſtreets being in ſome places lined with trees, have an agreeable effect. The neighbourhood of the SWEDES makes the DANISH garriſon ſtrict in the examination of all who come into the town. COPENHAGEN is diſtant from hence about 20 ENGLISH miles.

[a] Lately increaſed to 100,000 crowns, of 5 s. 6 d. the DANES having wiſely taken the precaution to inſtruct ſome of their cuſtom-houſe officers in the RUSSIAN language, the duties being demanded on the goods ſpecified on the clearances in RUSSIA.

[b] The works I am told are lately enlarged, and made more formidable than at the time I ſaw them.

The

The remarkable piety of the DANISH nation appears even amongſt the common ſoldiers. I obſerved with great pleaſure their good order and diſcipline. When the guard was mounted, they made their addreſſes to the ſupreme being, in a regular manner [c]. The DANES are ſaid to maintain 30,000 men. They have a ſmall trade to CHINA; our maſters of ſhips are ſometimes ſupplied by that nation with CHINA goods, but of late years theſe are not only much advanced in price, but very bad in quality. This is alſo a little magazine of wine, brandy, and ſuch commodities as are uſed by the merchant ſhips. The boats employed in this road are very broad and ſhallow, and though the ſea ſometimes runs high, they live, as the ſeamen term it, in a ſurprizing manner.

From ELSINEUR we weighed, and paſſed by COPENHAGEN, the royal palace of which forms a magnificent proſpect from the water. The ſea here is often very clear and tranſparent. Hence we paſſed by BORNHOLM, which affords an agreeable proſpect in ſerene weather, but in the cloſe of the ſeaſon is a great object of terror to mariners; few ſhips navigate this ſea from November to April. Soon after we deſcried the coaſt of COURLAND, which affords a ſandy and inhoſpitable proſpect.

Having gentle breezes, in a ſhort time we made the bay of RIGA. As it was now the end of May, it is not eaſy to conceive how pleaſant the BALTIC ſea is, and how much the ſcene was changed for the better. Tho' a maritime life had no utility, yet ſailing in fair weather might induce many to practiſe it, who deſire to enlarge the ſcene of their pleaſures. Here we were obliged to lighten our ſhip, by throwing out part of the ballaſt, that ſhe might not draw above 11 feet water, being the depth uſually found on the bar.

[c] A practiſe ſo little imitated in ſome of the polite nations, that one hardly ever ſees a ſoldier at church, but when he is going to execution for deſertion, or worſe crimes. It was remarkable in the late war, that when all the different nations which compoſed the confederate army were performing their daily devotions, the * * * * ſoldiers only, ſeemed to have no ſenſe of the being of a God.

After a tedious paſſage of 26 days, it was no ſmall pleaſure to go aſhore; but by no means agreeable to be carried as a priſoner to the caſtle of DWENAMUND, where I was kept above an hour in the company of common ſoldiers, and under ſecretaries, who are but a ſmall remove from common ſoldiers.

RUSSIA being then at war with SWEDEN, I was queſtioned if I had any paſſport. They ſaw that I was a merchant from ENGLAND; I produced letters of recommendation from monſieur NARRISKIN, then the RUSSIAN miniſter at the court of LONDON, to count BESTUCHEFF, the great chancellor of RUSSIA, and alſo to count LESTOCK [*]; and yet they made great difficulties concerning the want of a paſſport, which it is not uſual to bring from ENGLAND. Petty officers in the RUSSIAN ſervice, often conjure up difficulties, out of a religious regard to the letter of their orders; but the maſter of the ſhip no ſooner made the ORDINARY COMPLIMENT, than we were received by the officer on duty as the friends of his ſovereign. From thence I went by land about half a day's journey to RIGA.

[*] The ſame who was afterwards diſgraced.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The author is detained at RIGA, *by order of the governor. Deſcription of that city and its trade. An account of* DORPT *and* NARVA, *with the trade thereof. The author arrives at St.* PETERSBURG.

IT was about the 20th of May when I arrived at RIGA. The weather was as hot as ever I remember it, during many years abode in PORTUGAL; for the ſun leaves the horizon only three or four hours, and its reflection continues even great part of that time, ſo that, tho' the dews fall, neither the earth, nor conſequently the air, has time to become temperate.

Here I was received by the BRITISH factors with great kindneſs and marks of regard, particularly by Mr. THOMAS SPENCER and his brother. Theſe gentlemen are diſtinguiſhed by their affluence and generoſity. They gave me a hoſpitable reception, which was the more pleaſing, as I found myſelf reſerved for the honour of being a ſtate priſoner. I produced the moſt indubitable credentials, the ſame I have already mentioned; and alſo letters of recommendation to the ENGLISH factors in RIGA, by all which it appeared I was an ENGLISH factor going to reſide in St. PETERSBURG. But the governor having received orders that no perſon ſhould proceed from thence without expreſs leave from the court then reſiding in St. PETERSBURG, he would not give me a paſſport, and I was obliged to wait there for ſeventeen days. Such is the jealouſy which the neighbourhood of the SWEDES creates in time of war.

I ſpent this time as agreeably as a garriſon and its confines would permit, but not a little mortified and ſurprized with the extreme heat. I was aſſured, that after the melting of the ſnow, the earth being impregnated with the nitre which the ſnow contains, ſometimes brings to maturity, in ſix weeks, the rye which has lain in the ground during the win-

ter; and that wheat has been ſown and reaped within the ſame time: the truth of which I ſhould have diſputed, if it had not been aſſerted by perſons of undoubted veracity.

This city, which had now a conſiderable garriſon of RUSSIAN forces, was built about the year 1190, when this country firſt received the knowledge of CHRIST. It is the metropolis of LIVONIA, a place of great conſequence, ſituated in the latitude of 57, on the north eaſt of the DWENA, which runs into the gulph of RIGA. It was taken from the SWEDES by PETER THE GREAT in 1710, after a ſiege of three months, in which time the SWEDISH garriſon, by famine, the plague, and the ſword, were reduced from 12000 to 5000 men; and of the burghers and inhabitants there died about 60,000. Several houſes have yet marks of the bombardment; the gallantry of the SWEDES in defending this place, was in ſome meaſure rewarded by the ſuperior genius of PETER THE GREAT, who granted the town a very honourable capitulation, which has been ever ſince religiouſly obſerved. The magiſtracy preſerve the civil power, according to their antient immunities; and the keys of the town gates are depoſited with them every night. The burghers have the ſole right of buying of the POLISH and RUSSIAN merchants; and conſequently the ENGLISH factors, and other foreigners, can buy only of the burghers: the latter, by this excluſive privilege, might be much enriched; but by exceſſive high living, and making their trade a kind of ſtock-jobbing, numbers of them of late years are become bankrupts. Beſides the corporation of burghers, which has the management of the city affairs only, the crown has a court under the RUSSIAN laws. This takes cognizance of the aſſeſſments for quartering of ſoldiers, and other matters relating to the government. There is alſo a provincial court for the affairs of the province, conſidered as diſtinct from the city.

The river DWENA generally cloſes about the end of November, and opens again near the middle of March; ſo that this town has the advantage of St. PETERSBURG, the NEVA being there cloſed about ſix weeks longer.

longer. When the ice breaks up, it often comes down in ſuch large pieces, and with ſo vaſt a weight, as to remove points of land, and form banks, which ſometimes remain for ſeveral years. This renders it impoſſible for any ſtanding bridge to be built over the river, an inconveniency which is removed by a bridge of rafts and boards, during the ſummer ſeaſon; ſo that they walk even with the ſurface of the water. About 300 veſſels can conveniently lay and take in their loading to the depth of nine feet water. Larger ſhips load in a creek not far diſtant, where there are ſeven fathoms water; and ſhips which cannot paſs the bar, load below it, at a place called the BALDERA.

The chief commodities here, are hemp, flax, maſts and timber. The quantity of the hemp is generally about 40,000 ſchipounds [e], which is brought down in ſtruzes [f] of 50 to 70 feet long, and 20 to 30 feet broad, made head and ſtern alike, and ſteered by oars of about 25 feet, of which there is one at the head, and another at the ſtern.

The POLANDERS bring a large proportion of theſe commodities, chiefly from the POLISH UKRAINE. The flax is brought from DRUANA and LITHUANIA, a great part of which they call DRUANA RAGITZER and LITHUANIA RAGITZER. The timber is from thoſe parts of POLAND which border on TURKEY; great part of that which is fit for maſts is two ſummers in its paſſage to RIGA. This place formerly exported vaſt quantities of corn for SWEDEN and other countries; but the ſyſtem of politics in that country having been for ſome time repugnant to that of RUSSIA, the town has ſuffered the inconvenience of a prohibition.

RIGA has ſometimes loaded annually near 500 ſhips, of which above 300 were from the UNITED PROVINCES; but as the trade of that country in general has been for ſome years on the decay, the number of DUTCH ſhips at this port has decreaſed; nor indeed has the timber, in which great part of the trade conſiſted, been ſo eſſential to thoſe pro-

[e] 6400 tons. [f] Flat bottomed boats

vinces,

vinces, ſince they have found that ſtones will make a more laſting fence againſt the inroads of the ſea.

They meaſure here by the ell, of which 1 ½ is equal to a yard ENGLISH. Their foot of 12 inches, is equal to 11 inches ENGLISH. Their weights are

1 ounce	is	2 loot.
32 loot		1 pound of 16 ounces.
20 pound		1 liſpound.
20 liſpound		1 ſchippound.

And they generally reckon 3 ½ Ct. ENGLISH to a ſchippound.

Liquors are ſold by the ſtoop, of which three are equal to an ENGLISH gallon.

The money current here is rix dollars alberts, equal to 80 farthings.

2 farthings = 1 mark.
20 marks = 1 ort.
4 orts 1 rix dollar, alberts.

This mark is an imaginary ſpecies of money, but they have another kind of mark of 6 groſs, by which ſome commodities are bought.

The farthings are POLISH as well as SWEDISH coin.

The merchants keep their accounts in rix dollars [s] and groſs, 90 groſs to a rix dollar.—But the tradeſmen keep their accounts in rix dollars of 40 marks.

The houſes here are made ſteep in the roof, for the better carrying off the water, which is very penetrating when the ſnow melts. In this they

[s] Generally worth 5 s. 6 d. according as the exchange is on AMSTERDAM.

excel

excel the RUSSIANS, who have ſtill greater occaſion to provide againſt the like inconvenience. The cellars are uſed as magazines for flax, and other goods; and the entrance, or firſt apartment, in moſt houſes, is the coach-houſe, by which you muſt paſs to the parlour and dining-room. The houſes have ſeldom above two ſtories, and the ſtreets are narrow. GERMAN is the language of the people of RIGA, but the peaſants in the neighbourhood, and other parts of LIVONIA, ſpeak UNDUETCH, a dialect entirely differing from the GERMAN.

My partner in St. PETERSBURG, having procured a paſſport for me, I provided myſelf with a ſleeping waggon [b], and on the 7th of June I took poſt for St. PETERSBURG. The ſoil about RIGA is ſandy, but, after ſome diſtance, the country becomes more pleaſant. In ſome places it is champaign, in others the hills diverſify the ſcene. It abounds in wood and corn land, and is well watered. The poſt horſes are exceeding bad, but as the ſtages are ſhort, and the houſes clean, this inconvenience is ſupportable. The ordinary ſtations for the poſts are FHAR, at the river AA, GARBIN, KUKATZ and DORPT, in all about 230 werſts.

DORPT ſtands on a plain, and is watered by the river EMBECK, which runs into the lake PEIPUS. The country on the ſide towards RIGA preſents a moſt delightful proſpect. Its trade conſiſts moſtly in corn and flax, of which conſiderable quantities are ſent to RIGA. The people here pretend, that every third year their wheat degenerates into rye; an opinion that probably has taken its riſe from an unſkilful cultivation of the land, which may cauſe the ſize and ſubſtance of the grain to be greatly diminiſhed. 'Tis perhaps from the ſame reaſon reverſed, the HUNGARIANS pretend, that in ſome parts of HUNGARY the earth is naturally ſo fruitful, and probably ſo well nouriſhed by cultivation, that, after three years, rye becomes wheat; but neither of theſe pretended facts was it my

[b] Theſe are made of leather, reſembling cradles, and hung upon braces.

buſineſs to diſpute. DORPT has the appearance of a ſuperb heap of ruins. Here are the remains of a caſtle which PETER THE GREAT took from the SWEDES in 1704, upon which occaſion great part of the town was deſtroyed by fire. From hence the country near the road is cleared of wood, and in many places well inhabited. I travelled along the banks of the lake PEIPUS, which is ſaid to abound in fiſh. It is 120 werſts long, and 60 broad, communicating with the lake PSCOW [i], the borders of which are famous for producing flax. From DORPT to FORMA POSTERN 37, to RANDAFFPUNGERN 38, to PURRAW 34, to VAVARA 20, to NARVA 41 werſts.

Here I was received with great hoſpitality by Mr. THOMAS WINN, an ENGLISH merchant, who always diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his great kindneſs to his countrymen who paſſed through this province, as well as for the integrity and exactneſs of his commercial correſpondency, by which he has acquired a conſiderable fortune. NARVA, which is the capital of ESTONIA, is not a large town, but ſtands on a riſing ground, is clean, and well fortified. Its trade conſiſts moſtly in flax and timber; of the firſt, about 220,000 poods [k] are generally brought to market, part of it on the ſnow; but the greateſt quantity is tranſported in ſpring, from PSCOW, through the lake PEIPUS. Two werſts above the town there is a cataract in the river NARVA, at which they are obliged to unload the barks.—HOLLAND, PORTUGAL, and ſeveral parts of the BALTIC, as well as ENGLAND, take off this flax; as the HOLLANDERS the greateſt part of the timber. Formerly they loaded 300 to 400 ſhips annually, with this article only; but now the number is reduced to about 100. The exportation is limited by the RUSSIAN government to 120,000 balks [l], which are of 20 to 40 feet long, and 10 to 15 inches ſquare. The ENGLISH generally demand the largeſt, and the HOLLANDERS the ſmalleſt kind. Every ton of ſhipping in meaſurement will take a load of timber, 50 ſolid feet being reckoned to a load.

[i] Vulgarly called the lake PLESKOW. [k] About 3,500 tons. [l] Fir trees.

The

The import here is about 15,000 lbs. weight of tobacco, and a ſmall quantity of bale goods; but the greateſt article is ſalt, of which they take near 100,000 poods[m], 180 poods being reckoned to the laſt, of two tons ENGLISH. There is no depth of water for ſhips of above 120 tons; ſo that larger veſſels are obliged to lay in the open road, where they are often diſtreſſed by hard gales of northerly winds; but this evil is intended to be remedied by building a pier. This city is remarkable in ſtory for the great defeat which the RUSSIANS met in the infancy of their military power, when 100,000 of them fled before a handful of SWEDES. This happened in the year 1700; and four years afterwards it was obliged to yield to the ſuperior numbers and fortune of the RUSSIANS, who have held it ever ſince; and in conſequence of the favour which was ſhewn it by the CZAR, the town enjoys its civil government, without labouring under any oppreſſion.

From NARVA I departed for JAMBURG, on the river LUGA, over which there is a floating bridge; here alſo ſtands an old caſtle. From thence I proceeded to OSERTES, paſſing out of ESTONIA into INGRIA, where the road is moſtly made of timber. The land within 20 werſts of St. PETERSBURG on the banks of the NEVA, is very marſhy. From NARVA to St. PETERSBURG is 146 werſts, and the whole diſtance from RIGA 546[n]. Notwithſtanding the ſeveral ſtops I made on the road, together with the bad poſt horſes, I arrived the fourth day without much difficulty.

[m] Above 1100 tons. [n] 398 miles.

CHAP. XII.

The BRITISH *factory at* PETERSBURG *alarmed by the complaints of the court of* RUSSIA *againſt Mr.* ELTON. *The author offers his ſervice to go into* PERSIA, *and takes the charge of a caravan of woollen goods deſigned for that country.*

I Arrived at St. PETERSBURG the 10th of June, a day ſomewhat remarkable to me, as being the ſame on which I landed at LISBON fourteen years before, when I firſt went abroad; but remarkable to many for the birth of a man, who might as well have not been born for any good he has done the world in general, or his unfortunate and deluded adherents in particular.

I was extremely pleaſed to find a city ſo open, airy, and regularly built in many places, with very good houſes in the ITALIAN taſte.

My reader will remember that I had formed a deſign of going into PERSIA, ſhould any convenient occaſion offer. The ſeveral intimations of the diſtreſſed condition of that country, had indeed made ſome impreſſion on me, but not much abated my curioſity. Very few weeks had paſt before my partner, and other factors who were correſpondents with Mr. ELTON, being alarmed with the complaints of the RUSSIAN court in relation to that gentleman, reſolved, that one of them would make a journey into PERSIA. I then offered my ſervice, which was accepted.

How far Mr. ELTON had carried the deſign of trading from GREAT-BRITAIN over the CASPIAN ſea into PERSIA, and how well it had ſucceeded to his wiſhes, has been already related: but now we had reaſon to believe, that, not contented with the purſuit of comercial affairs, he had injudiciouſly engaged in the ſervice of NADIR SHAH, to build ſhips on the CASPIAN after the EUROPEAN manner. This was not then acknowledged

ed by ELTON, nor entirely credited by his friends in St. PETERSBURG, but was thought a ſufficient cauſe to make an enquiry. Other reaſons of jealouſy alſo concurring, we applied to Sir CYRIL WYCH, at that time his majeſty's miniſter at the court of RUSSIA, and he, by a memorial to the great chancellor's office, demanded a paſſport for me, which was granted.

I provided myſelf with a convenient ſleeping-waggon, another for my clerk, and a third for my baggage, alſo a RUSSIAN menial ſervant, a tartar boy and a ſoldier: then having received ſuch inſtructions as were neceſſary from the factors who were intereſted in this new commerce, and taken upon me the charge of a caravan of thirty ſeven bales of ENGLISH cloth, I prepared for my journey,

This caravan of cloth, making twenty loads, ſet out the 1ſt of SEPTEMBER. The 10th of that month I followed it, not without ſome painful apprehenſions that though I might probably arrive time enough to obtain a paſſage over the CASPIAN into PERSIA, yet the caravan would be too late in the ſeaſon.

I had an order for nine poſt-horſes, and was determined to make what ſpeed the conveyance of the ſeveral neceſſary things I carried with me would admit; but notwithſtanding this order for the facility of obtaining ſuch a number of horſes, and greater diſpatch, I hired COPEACHNICKS*. It is too much the cuſtom in RUSSIA for officers or perſons who travel with ſervants or ſoldiers, to treat the peaſants with inſolence. The firſt charge I gave my attendants, was, to avoid every occaſion of diſpute, and ſtill more of oppreſſion; that if any inſult was offered to them, they ſhould inform me, that I might judge in what manner it ought to be reſented.

* Peaſants horſes, for which they pay one copeek or a half-penny each werſt; whereas poſt-horſes are but ½ a copeek, and not ſo good.

The rainy and frofty feafon being already come on, I found the roads extremely bad, efpecially for about fifteen werfts. The adjacent country to St. PETERSBURG, would be impaffable but for the great care which is taken in mending the roads with timber and fafcines. A peace being concluded with SWEDEN, we overtook great numbers of foldiers who were retiring to their winter quarters.

On the 11th we found the road better, though the ground about us was marfhy, and little or no arable land appeared. We got this evening to FREESTAN, which is 123 werfts from St. PETERSBURG. On the 12th we advanced thirty-fix werfts to the river VOLCOFF, which it was neceffary to pafs. The banks of this river are very pleafant, part conffifting of rich arable lands. It communicates with the lake LODOGA, veffels paffing through this river to the canal, which runs into the NEVA; alfo with the lake ILMEN at NOVOGORODE from whence, by the river MSTA and TWERSA, it communicates with the VOLGA at the city UGLITZ.

The ferry-man finding that I was a merchant, began to be infolent. Thefe boors ufually entertain a contemptible notion of their own traders, compared with military people, which they extend to merchants in general. I could not help obferving upon this, as upon many other occafions, the obftinate opinion which the peafants had imbibed of the little refpect due to merchants, though this barbarity of manners wears off very faft amongft the politer part of the people. The delay and impertinence to which I found myfelf thus expofed, neceffarily called on my foldier to exercife his cane, which foon brought my antagonift to his duty. As the road on the oppofite fide of this river was exceeding bad, we intended to have gone up to NOVOGORODE by water, but the wind blowing ftrong in our teeth prevented us.

The 13th, the darknefs of the night, the hard wind and rain, and exceffive bad road, obliged us to halt, and fleep in our waggons in the open field, efpecially as one of them remained till morning ftuck in a bog.

We

We overtook a party of COSSACKS, who had ſerved in the war againſt the SWEDES; one of them ſeized hold of my horſes, but he ſoon diſpelled my fears by informing me that he had diſcovered the horſe he had loſt three years ago, which proved to be the real caſe; he very civilly procured me another to the next ſtage, and we parted with mutual wiſhes of a good journey. From the VOLCOFF, we paſſed the MSTA, near NOVOGORODE, and thence came to BRONITZ on the 14th, which is 230 werſts from St. PETERSBURG. I now found the weather mild, which was a joyful circumſtance to me, who had not been accuſtomed to autumn journies in a rigorous climate. The road alſo was open and pleaſant, which was ſome conſolation for our being obliged to take this rout, the beſt road being under repair. The land in ſeveral places is dry and arable, and proviſions ſo cheap, that good beef may be bought for the value of three farthings a pound, mutton and pork in proportion, and bread about one ſixth part of its uſual price with us in ENGLAND.

The RUSSIANS, though not the acuteſt lawyers, underſtand how to torture words, and make them ſay what was never intended: my PODEROSNOI[r], by ſome omiſſion or ambiguity, now left me at the mercy of the poſt-maſters, as it was ſo worded as to ſignify either poſt-horſes or YAMSHEEKS[s]. We paſſed by KRESTIKOI, and went 40 werſts to ISACOFF. The 15th. Laſt night the axle-tree of my own waggon broke: the RUSSIAN vehicles, unleſs made by expreſs commiſſion, are very ſubject to ſuch accidents. This day we arrived at VALDAI, where is a conſiderable monaſtery, ſituated on a little iſland formed by the adjacent lake: the town is the property of the monaſtery. The inhabitants are moſtly the deſcendents of the POLES, who were brought here as priſoners in former wars, but the diſtinction is now almoſt loſt. The dreſs of the women is neater, and their perſons are more comely than in general thoſe of the RUSSIAN peaſants; but their exceſſive laughter, and painted faces, greatly diminiſh the external charms which nature has beſtowed on them. The

[r] Order for horſes. [s] Horſes for which 2 copecks a werſt are paid in this place.

country

country is very hilly, and affords many pleaſant proſpects. VENUS ſeems to have had here a more peculiar reſidence from the ſeveral amorous ſongs which the RUSSIANS hold in great eſteem, in relation to the ſcenes of delight which this place affords; though the more refined parts of love, are hardly to be found among the preſent inhabitants. Here we got horſes for 1½ copeeks a werſt each horſe.

The 16th. By noon we had advanced 99 werſts to VISHNEIVOLOCHOQUE: here we took horſes for 130 werſts. The next day, paſſing over ſeveral branches of the MSTA and TWERSA, I got to TWERE, where I came up with my caravan of cloth. Great complaints were made by the ISWOSHICKS[z], of the badneſs of the roads, inſomuch that my fear of its not reaching PERSIA that year encreaſed; therefore inſtead of one horſe to each load, I ordered two, and promiſed to divide ſomething conſiderable among the carriers, if they exerted themſelves to the utmoſt of their ſtrength and ability.

And now we are upon this ſubject, before I proceed further, perhaps it may afford ſome gratification to the curious, to be informed in what manner caravans uſually travel in this country.

CHAP. XIII.

The beſt manner of ordering caravans in RUSSIA, *and how they are generally conducted.*

IN RUSSIA, carriages for merchandize are drawn only by one horſe. Theſe vehicles are nine or ten feet long, and two or three broad, and are principally compoſed of two ſtrong poles, ſupported by four wheels of near an equal ſize, and about as high as the fore wheels of our ordinary

[z] Carriers.

dinary coaches, but made very ſlight: many of the rounds of the wheels are of a ſingle piece of wood, and open in one part for near an inch; and ſome of them are not ſhod with iron.

The firſt care is to lay the bales as high as the cart will admit, on a bed of matts of the thickeſt ſort [t]. Beſides the original package, which is calculated to ſtand the weather, the bales are uſually covered with very thick matts, and over theſe other matts are laid, to prevent the friction of the ropes; laſtly there is another covering of matts, in the want of raw cow hides, which are always beſt to defend the goods from rain, or from the ſnow, which, when it melts, is yet more penetrating. Each bale is ſealed up with a leaden ſeal, to prevent its being opened on the road, or any of the goods vended in the country, that is, when they are intended for PERSIA.

In St. PETERSBURG, from whence the BRITISH caravans always ſet out, it is neceſſary to provide a WIPIS [u], which muſt be carried to the cuſtom-houſe of ASTRACHAN, and alſo paſſports for the people that attend the caravan. The manner of procuring horſes is to agree with one or more PODERATCHICKS [w], who provide for the whole caravan, in the ſummer ſeaſon at the rate of about one ruble a pood [x], for the carriage from St. PETERSBURG to ZARITZEN, which is near 1800 werſts; and in winter it is only 40 copeeks [y]. Theſe waggons uſually carry from 25 to 30 poods. On every agreement of this kind, the crown receives a duty of 10 per cent. but the carriers are not very ſcrupulous in regard to the declaration of the exact price.

As this duty is by agreement uſually paid by the maſter-carrier, he takes out a CHAMATAVOI YERLIQUE [z], and having part of the money advanced, he provides the carriers, and every thing neceſſary for the journey. And

[t] The RUSSIANS call theſe matts looblcas and ſnoflcas. [u] A cuſtom-houſe permit. [w] Maſter carriers. [x] 36 lb. ENGLISH. [y] Which is equal to 19 ½ pence per ſtone of 14 lbs. ENGLISH, for 1200 ENGLISH miles in ſummer, but in winter not quite 8 pence per ſtone. [z] A certain clearance ſo called.

here

here a ZAPIS [1] is of excellent uſe to keep theſe people in order, for by this they oblige themſelves to watch the goods at night, and preſerve them as much as poſſible from fire, water, and thieves; but in the laſt caſe little dependence ought to be made on them, either for courage or for arms. On this account the conductor of the caravan (who with us in the BRITISH trade was generally a foreigner) ought to take particular care of this regiſtered bond; for the carriers being uneaſy at the reſtraint it lays them under, will ſometimes attempt to ſteal it from him while he is aſleep.

Spring and autumn are very bad ſeaſons for travelling, as my caravan at this time experienced. There is a law in force, made in favour of the carriers, by which any contract for tranſporting merchandize in the winter becomes null and void, if the roads are broke up by a thaw, and thereby rendered impracticable to travel in ſledges, in which caſe the carriers have the liberty of taking out their horſes, and leaving a caravan in any town they can moſt eaſily reach. The conductors of caravans generally chuſe to lodge in villages, a few miles wide of MOSCO. If they come into the city, the goods muſt be houſed in the GOSTINADWORE [2], or pay three copecks a load, the ſame as if they had been houſed. There is no neceſſity to make any ſtay in this city, except to regiſter the clearances, or to gratify the carriers, who are too fond of the ſpirit of corn to paſs great towns without their fill of it.

At NOVOCHOPERSKAJA, a frontier garriſon towards the DON COSSACKS, they examine the CHAMATAVOI YERLIQUE, already mentioned; and the officers, in order to extort a preſent, uſually make great difficulties; but when they are reminded, that according to the treaty of commerce with the BRITISH crown, and the EMPRESS's regulations of trade, a dollar is due for every hour of illegal detention, they ſoon became reconciled to the acceptance of a loaf of ſugar, or a few bottles of brandy, and ſuffer the caravan to proceed.

[1] A regiſtered bond. [2] Public warehouſes.

The

The caravans generally ſet out about 12, both in the night and day, except in the heat of ſummer. In the winter between St. PETERSBURG and MOSCO, they uſually travel 70 werſts in 24 hours [b]; but from MOSCO to ZARITZEN, only 40 or 50 werſts: in ſummer their ſtages are ſhorter. Great part of the laſt mentioned road being through an uninhabited country, makes the carriers cautious not to jade their horſes. Every time they ſet out, the conductor ought to count the loads. When neceſſity requires that the caravan ſhould be drawn within fences, or into yards, the heads of the waggons ought to ſtand towards the door in a regular order, and a guard, who will keep a better watch than an ordinary carrier, ſhould be be ſet over it: for want of this precaution, whole caravans in RUSSIA have been ſometimes conſumed by fire. It is moſt eligible to ſtop in the field, where the uſual method is to form the carriages into a ring, and bring the horſes as well as the men within it, always obſerving to keep in ſuch a poſition as beſt to prevent an attack, or repulſe an enemy. The KHALMUCKS on the banks of the VOLGA are ever ready to embrace an opportunity of plundering and deſtroying paſſengers; therefore when there is any occaſion to travel on thoſe banks, which ſhould be avoided as much as poſſible, an advanced guard of at leaſt four COSSACKS is of great uſe; eſpecially to patrole in the night; it is not often practiſed but I found it indiſpenſably neceſſary when I travelled on thoſe banks, as I ſhall have occaſion to relate.

A hundred carriages take up two thirds of a mile in length, ſo that when no horſeman is at hand to ſpread the alarm, the rear might be eaſily carried off. They have not even a trumpet, horn, or other inſtrument for this purpoſe; they truſt in providence and think any care of this kind unneceſſary, though the neglect has ſometimes proved of fatal conſequence.

By the time the caravans, which ſet out in the winter, uſually arrive at ZARITZEN, the VOLGA becomes very dangerous; for which reaſon goods

[b] 47 miles ENGLISH.

are houſed there till the waters are open. From ASTRACHAN they ſeldom venture to travel on the ice after January. It muſt be obſerved, that to ſave the ſhipping ſeaſon, either on the BALTIC or the CASPIAN ſea, it is ſometimes neceſſary to make loads only of 15 poods for a ſingle horſe, but the hire of the horſes is then eſtimated near the ſame, as if it was 25 poods. Another way, which I experienced, is to hire double horſes to 25 poods, which ſaves many days, and was the cauſe that my caravan got ſafe into PERSIA, when another, which ſet out a week ſooner from St. PETERSBURG, wintered in ASTRACHAN.

It is neceſſary to ſend previous advice to ZARITZEN, that a veſſel may be provided by the time you arrive there. Thoſe veſſels which carry 3000 poods [a], are as large as is conſiſtent with ſafety and diſpatch to go down the VOLGA to ASTRACHAN. They coſt from 60 to 100 rubles [b], and, conſidering how ill they are put together, ſometimes prove very dear. They require 15 or 20 hands to navigate them, of which half ought to be ſoldiers, in order to ſerve as a convoy againſt robbers, of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more at large.

I have been the more minute in this relation, as my intention is to preſerve a remembrance of the manner in which this branch of commerce was conducted.

[a] About 45 tons. [b] 12 to 18l.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

A deſcription of TWERE, *and of the great road made by the command of* PETER *the* GREAT *from St.* PETERSBURG *to* MOSCO. *The author arrives at* MOSCO. *A ſhort deſcription of that city.*

TO return to TWERE. It is a very antient city, but of no beauty; the largeſt and beſt ſtructure was then building for the uſe of the civil officers of the government. This place ſtands on both ſides of the TWERSA, which runs into, or is rather a branch of the great river VOLGA. Another large branch of that river runs about ſouth weſt to VOLODIMEROFF, and from thence northwardly for many miles, terminating in a little lake; ſo that in this place, as well as in many others, the VOLGA ſeems to be a rich mine of gold to the RUSSIAN empire.

TWERE is a great rendezvous for merchants who trade to the towns on the banks of the VOLGA; in the ordinary courſe of the year, here is not a depth of 20 inches water; yet in the months of April and May this river receives ſuch vaſt floods from the melting of the ſnow, as raiſes the water to 10 or 11 feet. Large flat bottomed veſſels of 200 tons take this opportunity of paſſing to and from ASTRACHAN, and other places; the trade to PERSIA being ſometimes carried on by the ſame channel. They bring here great quantities of rock ſalt, caviare and fiſh; and carry back bale goods, corn, meal, and all kinds of groceries, performing the voyage in 16 or 20 days.

The 19th we arrived at KLIN, which is a very agreeable place, near a ſmall branch of the river KLIAZMA. Paſſing through PIESKIE, KLUSENO, PETROWSKOI, and other ſmall villages, we travelled 84 werſts, and the next day we arrived at MOSCO, the metropolis of the RUSSIAN empire.

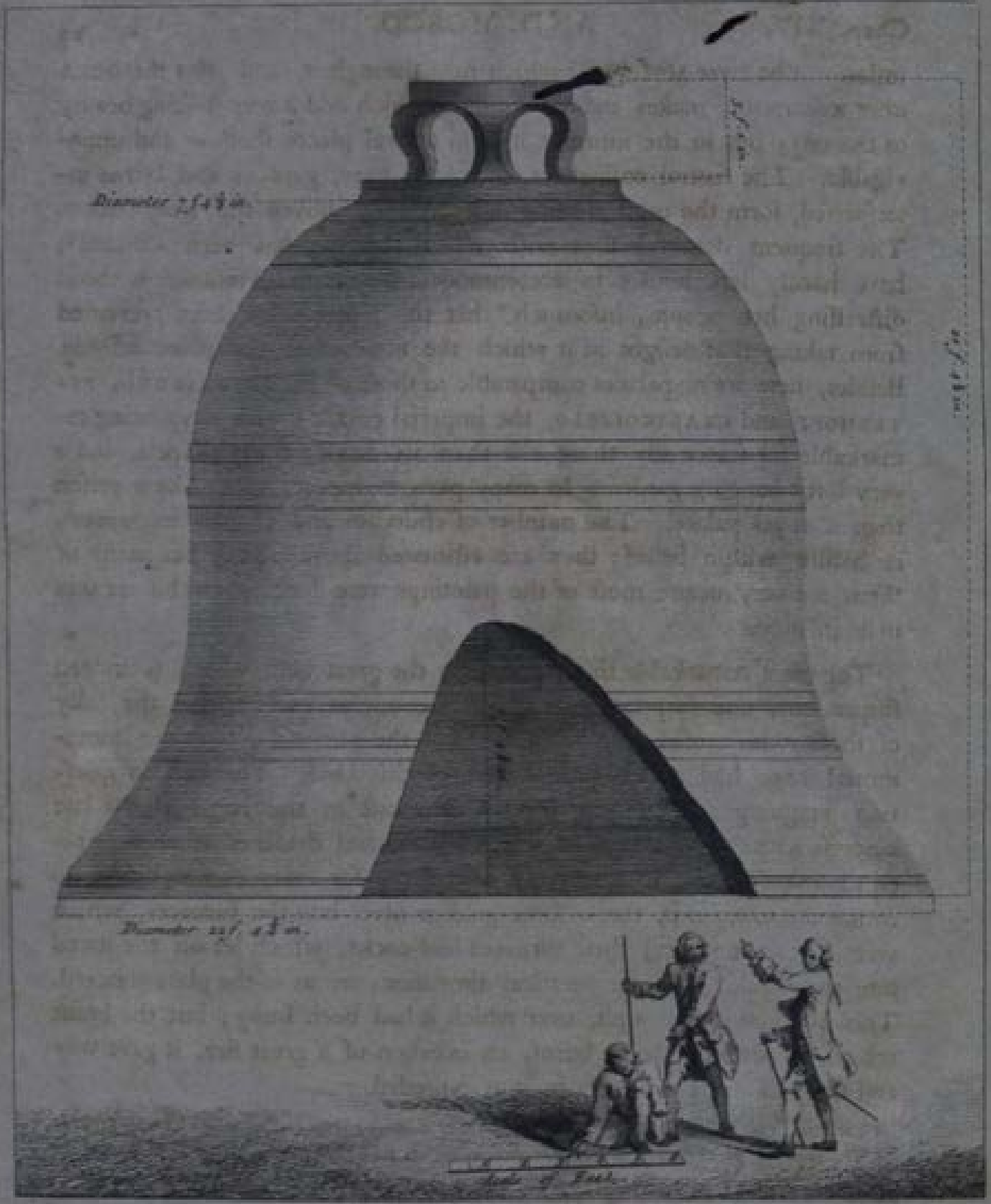
Among other great works of that immortal prince PETER I. he cauſed a road to be cut from St. PETERSBURG, intending to make the whole diſtance of 734 werſts * in a direct line and perſpective, but it is not entirely compleated, nor is the part performed, exactly on the original plan. Vaſt forreſts of firrs, birch, and other trees, were cut through, and a paſſage made over moraſſes, which till then was thought impoſſible to be accompliſhed. Immenſe quantities of timber were hewn down, ditches were made, and the earth thrown up and levelled, upon which ſtrait firs, their ſurfaces being firſt made plain, were laid cloſe to each other; theſe are ſupported by a foundation of the ſame kind of timber, and the ends in the center, for it is compoſed of two trees, and on both ſides, are ſecured by croſs timbers. This bridge or road of timber, is carried, according as the land requires it, for about 150 werſts. Formerly the timber way was much longer, but as the lands grow drier, it becomes the more unneceſſary. Even for this extent of 150 werſts, allowing one tree with another to be 9 inches diameter, and the length 23 feet †, and ſuppoſing the foundation and ſides to be only half ſo many more as the bridge is compoſed of, and the road to be 46 feet wide, here is an an expence of 2,100,000 trees. But beſides theſe, there are on the ſides of the road, great quantities of timber cut down, which had never been uſed.

On my arrival I was received with great hoſpitality by Mr. JOHN TAMESZ, who by his ſkill and induſtry as a merchant and manufacturer, has acquired a great reputation. His fabric appeared as a little town, having about 400 looms, which employs more than 1000 hands in making ſail-cloth, ſheetings, ravenducks and drillings.

Mosco is in the latitude of 55, 40, and is built in ſome meaſure after the eaſtern manner, having not many regular ſtreets, but a great number of houſes with gardens. Its circumference is about 16 ENGLISH

* 487 miles ENGLISH. † They are from ſix to twelve inches diameter, being of different ſizes, and in length twenty to twenty five feet. The road is the length of two trees broad.

miles.



The Great Bell at Moscow.

miles. The river MOSK[illegible] which runs through it, and joins the OCCA near KOLUMNA, makes many windings, which add a very ſtriking beauty to the city; but in the ſummer it is in ſeveral places ſhallow and unnavigable. The ſeveral eminences, groves of trees, gardens and lawns interſperſed, form the moſt pleaſing proſpects, and enliven the imagination. The frequent dreadful fires with which this city has been afflicted[g], have hardly left houſes to accommodate the empreſs's retinue[h] without diſtreſſing her people; inſomuch, that this princeſs has been prevented from taking that delight in it which the ſituation of the place affords. Beſides, here are no palaces comparable to thoſe of St. PETERSBURG, PETERHOFF and CZARSKOIZELO, the imperial palace in this city, being remarkable for ſcarce any thing elſe than its having thirty chapels, and a very lofty hanging garden: In many parts it appears rather like a priſon than a royal palace. The number of churches and chapels in MOSCO, is hardly within belief: they are eſtimated above 1800, but many of them are very mean: moſt of the paintings were done when this art was in its infancy.

The moſt remarkable thing I ſaw, is the great bell, which is indeed ſtupendous, and ſurprizes equally on account of its ſize, and the folly of thoſe who cauſed it to be made: but the RUSSIANS, for time immemorial have had a ſtrange ambition of this kind. The bell in queſtion weighing near 12327 poods[i], was caſt in the reign of the late empreſs ANN: the ſound of it rather amazed and deafened, than delighted the inhabitants. It coſt a very great ſum; for every one ambitious to contribute towards it, threw ſome gold or ſilver into the furnaces, which were four in number; theſe furnaces had cocks, which let off the metal into the mould. The geometrical dimenſions are as in the plate annexed. This bell was now in a pit, over which it had been hung; but the beam which ſupported it being burnt, on occaſion of a great fire, it gave way and the fall made a breach in it as expreſſed.

[g] The account of the fire in May 1752 is immenſe, they mention 13000 houſes, which is hardly credible.

[h] The removal of the court to MOSCO occaſions ſuch a conflux of people, that I have been aſſured no leſs than 80,000 paſſports for MOSCO have been delivered in St. PETERSBURG in the ſpace of a few months.

[i] 443,272 lb. ENGLISH value at 5 l. is 65,681 l.

The

The waters of the MOSKWA are not eſteemed. In ſome ſeaſons agues are predominant in this city, but in general the climate is good. Being in the heart of the empire it is the grand reſidence of that part of the nobility which is not obliged to follow the court; and it is particularly inhabited by the chief merchants and manufacturers. This city having for many ages frequently ſuffered by dreadful fires, which have ſwept away ſeveral thouſand houſes at a time, it would be amazing that they ſhould ſtill continue to build with wood, were it not that the cheapneſs of this kind of building, and the poverty of many of the inhabitants render it neceſſary. By a late decree of the RUSSIAN ſenate, the wood houſes are limited to certain quarters of the city; in all other places they are ordered to be re-built with brick and ſtone[1]. It is the cuſtom in RUSSIA to build very faſt, and without proper attention to the quality of the materials. Moſco has been more than once ravaged by the TARTARS and POLES; it yet ſhows many antient works of defence, but the preſent pacific ſtate of this country renders the fortifications leſs an object of regard.

Before we leave MOSCO, it is neceſſary to obſerve that there remain many traces of the antient RUSSIAN cuſtoms, which are hardly to be ſeen in St. PETERSBURG, this laſt city being in ſome degree conſidered as another country: thoſe who have a ſuperſtitious reverence for antiquity, look on it alſo with jealouſy mixed with contempt, as being more modern than MOSCO. The RUSSIANS in general preſerve a great ſhare of the ſimplicity of their forefathers; they chuſe the appellations of father and mother, as expreſſions of reſpect, as well as real affinity. Modern refinements which in ſome countries have rendered it unpolite for a ſon to call his father by that endearing name, is little known among them. In the politeſt correſpondences of friendſhip or acquaintance, a man's chriſtian name with that of his father's, as JOHN

[1] Moſco is ſaid to have ſuffered, within theſe 20 years, the loſs of above 30,000 houſes. It is remarkable, that the fire which happened in 1752, in two hours time was carried to the extent of two ENGLISH miles.

the

the ſon of THOMAS, without any other addition, is deemed the moſt reſpectful addreſs. My caravan being at length arrived, I gave the neceſſary directions, and haſtened its departure.

CHAP. XV.

The author leaves MOSCO *and purſues his journey; he enters* TARTARY, *deſcribes the manners of the* COSSACKS, *and arrives at* ZARITZEN *on the banks of the* VOLGA.

THE 24th of September, having repaired our vehicles, and provided ſuch proviſions as were thought neceſſary, we left MOSCO, at which time the weather was become more ſoft and pleaſant. We travelled ſouthward to STRELKOWA, NEIKITSKOI, BORISOWSKOI, and other ſmall villages, not far from the weſtern banks of the OCCA. The country is hilly, but abounding in arable lands, and adorned with a beautiful variety of groves. Here we met ſome SWEDISH priſoners returning to their own country.

The 25th at night we arrived at KOLUMNA, 80 werſts from MOSCO. This is one of the cities of the beſt appearance in this part of the world, having many ſtone and brick buildings, and a good wall: it has alſo ſeveral turrets of a very irregular figure, yet being covered with gilded tin, they make a good appearance. After paſſing the OCCA, I found the country very pleaſant; their horſes were now feeding on the rye juſt ſprouting from the earth.

The 26th, being advanced to PERISLAWL RJAZANSKOI, I found myſelf in another climate, for the harveſt was not yet gathered in. The roads are for the moſt part very good; the country has not much wood, but is delightfully

fully watered. The poverty of the people is great, as appears by the houſes of the peaſants, which are covered with ſtraw, in a manner that declares their ignorance even of thatching. Their language and dreſs had ſome remarkable difference from thoſe of the more northern RUSSIANS. I was ſurprized to behold ſo fine a country, at the ſmall diſtance of 200 werſts from the metropolis, with ſuch an appearance of indigence: but ſome lords are ſuch bad œconomiſts, that they defeat their own end, by not only refuſing to aſſiſt their vaſſals, but in a great meaſure obſtructing their induſtry, thro' a rapacious impatience of gain, before the peaſants feel the ſweets of their labour, a conduct which is naturally productive of indolence.

The 27th, the weather and the road continued extremely pleaſant. Being informed that a gang of 60 robbers had the ſame day we paſſed the OCCA, committed ſeveral robberies on that river and its banks, we were ſolicitous to get forward as much as poſſible out of their reach.

The 28th, Rain coming on, obſtructed our way ſo much that we could not travel above half ſo faſt as in dry weather. We were now in an open fertile country, but the people ſo poor that many of their WESBES [k] conſiſted only of one room, about five or ſix yards ſquare, which is often deſtined to contain ſix or eight people of both ſexes. The inhabitants, who are not numerous in theſe parts, are not very reſerved with regard to the ordinary conſequences of ſuch cohabitations.

The 29th, having travelled 300 werſts from KOLUMNA, we arrived at KOSLOVE. This city has a wall of earth, and ſome wooden turrets, which ſerved as a defence againſt the invaſions of the TARTARS in former times. It ſtands on a little branch of the river VORONITZ, called LESNOI VORONITZ. Here we paid only half a copeek [l] a werſt for each horſe.

[k] Cottages ſo called. [l] A farthing.

The

The 30th, we travelled [illegible] werſts farther, to the city of TAMBOVE, which is a mean place. Here they demanded one copeck a werſt for each horſe; the peaſants complained of the exactions of the officers and ſoldiers who had lately marched that way for ASTRACHAN and the PERSIAN frontiers.

October the 1ſt, we entered the STEP. The inhabitants who are neareſt to it often manure ſome tracts of land, by burning the graſs, which grows to a great length. In places which are not burnt, provender is found even in the winter ſeaſon; for by ſcraping away the ſnow, the cattle feed on the half periſhed graſs. We overtook a caravan of 40 loads of EUROPEAN goods, going to ZARITZEN, the property of ARMENIAN merchants. The 2d, we arrived at NOVOCHOPERSKAJA, the proper boundary of RUSSIA, on the river CHOPER, which falls into the DON. This place is the RUSSIAN frontier towards the DON COSSACKS; it is fortified with paliſades, a dry moat, and a rampart on which ſome ſmall pieces of artillery are mounted: it is almoſt ſurrounded by a pleaſant grove of oaks; the adjacent country is very delightful, and the roads exceeding good. The 3d, we travelled moſt part of the night on the banks of the CHOPER, where there are ſeveral mills for corn; the country is very thin of inhabitants, and thoſe only on the weſtern banks. Leaving MICHAILOVE, we paſſed through GOROZANSK and KHOTOSKAJA, two COSSACK towns, and arrived the next day at URJUPIN, a COSSACK village, 100 werſts from NOVOCHOPERSKAJA. Here I found the people very clean, and well cloathed: the women are gay and comely; their heads are adorned with a cap, riſing from their forehead about eight inches, with two points in form of a creſcent, and their ſhifts are ornamented with a red croſs. Unmarried women wear their hair plated behind after the RUSSIAN manner.

The COSSACKS are a ſpecies of TARTARS: their name ſignifies freebooters; but in theſe parts they are civilized, and faithful to the RUSSIAN government, which by an excellent policy is indulgent to them; ſo that

they are ready when called on, to attend the RUSSIAN army, and bring with them uſually each man two horſes. Upon theſe occaſions they are well cloathed, and accoutred at their own expence. They receive no pay, except in time of war, when they are actually employed, and then only ſix rubles a year, with proviſion and plunder; yet being exempt from taxes, they have no provocation to forſake their maſters. They are a very gallant as well as ſober people, and ſome of them are ſaid to poſſeſs 1000 ſheep, and 300 cows.

We ſaw little more for three days than land and ſky, except ſome woods and mountains to the eaſtward, which gave pleaſure in proportion to the abſence of other objects. There are prodigious flights of blue pigeons; of which we killed as many as we could conſume. The poſt huts on the STEP could not always ſupply us with a ſufficient number of horſes, ſo that where any inhabitants could be found within ſix or eight miles from the road, we were more than once obliged to ſend out for them. Paſſing the CHOPER and the DON, we advanced, in five days and nights, near 500[m] werſts from URJUPIN, having met with very few inhabitants. At length we arrived at GRIGORISKOI, which forms a kind of peninſula. Here they take a great quantity of crawfiſh, eſpecially in ſpring, at which time the fleſh is moſt eſteemed: when they are pounded and mixed with water, the eyes ſink to the bottom. Quantities of theſe eyes are ſent into TURKEY, and other countries, being well known to be uſed in medicines. Their houſes, or rather huts, are built of oak plank; but ſo little provident are they of timber, that the bench I ſat upon was hewn with an ax, and near three inches thick. Fiſh and fowl of all kinds are in great plenty. They marry very young; I had ſome diſcourſe with a boy of fifteen, who was engaged to a girl of the ſame age.

The 9th. This morning we arrived under the lines which are thrown up from the DON[n] to the VOLGA, for the diſtance of about 50 werſts. The ditch is near ſixteen feet deep, but not made entirely ſquare. There

[m] 334 miles. [n] Antient TANAIS.

is

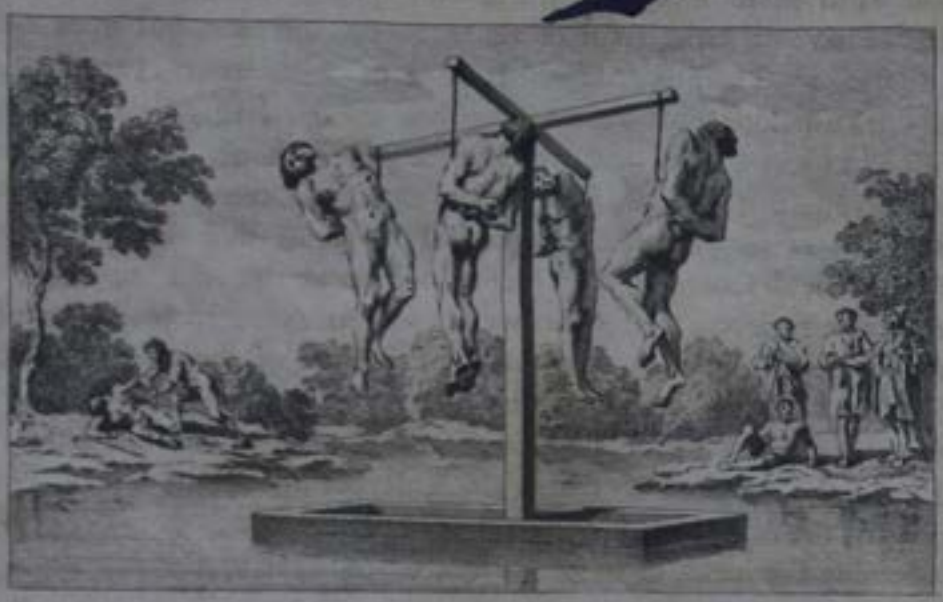
is a bank of earth [illegible]wenty feet high, with a ſtrong timber rail towards the top. Sentry boxes are placed at certain diſtances, from which the guard can communicate an alarm to the chief garriſon, ZARITZEN, which terminates the line on the weſtern banks of the VOLGA. On this ſpot PETER the GREAT intended to join the DON and the VOLGA, and the canal was actually begun for that purpoſe. By this means a communication would have been opened with TURKEY, and the CZAR might have attacked that empire with ſhips built on the VOLGA, where the materials are in great abundance: but this undertaking proved very difficult from the hardneſs of the ſoil. Beſides, as it was found practicable to build ſhips on the DON, this and other weighty reaſons prevented the execution of this deſign.

The KOOBAN TARTARS were ſome years ago very formidable in this part of the world. The river KUMA* which diſembogues itſelf into the CASPIAN, now ſerves as a barrier to theſe people, who are kept in awe by the RUSSIANS. Not long ſince, they made incurſions, and carried off the inhabitants of whole villages, with all their cattle; but they dare not make their appearance at preſent, except in ſmall parties, who ſometimes break through the lines and carry off horſes, which is their grand allurement, as they ſerve for food as well as for ordinary uſes.

Though the incurſions of the TARTARS were generally mentioned as a trivial matter with regard to our new trade; yet the KHALMUCKS, a little before my arrival, had the boldneſs to rob a caravan, in which was a ſum of copper money, belonging to the crown, intended for the garriſon of ZARITZEN: they alſo killed and wounded ſeveral ſoldiers who guarded it.

The ſun was yet warm, and the weather delightful. On the plains, near ZARITZEN, they feed dromedaries, which are not much unlike camels.

* The KAMA, with which this is ſometimes confounded, runs into the VOLGA, near CASAN.



CHAP. XVI.

Remarks on the KHALMUCK TARTARS. *A particular account of the pirates who infeſt the* VOLGA. *The nature of the veſſels which navigate that river. The author's voyage down to* ASTRACHAN.

ZARITZEN is ſituated in the latitude of 47 ½, at the diſtance of 1042 werſts [r] from MOSCO, on a high bank of the VOLGA, of which it commands a delightful proſpect. The buildings are mean, nor are there many inhabitants: the place is defended by a deep ditch, a rampart garniſhed with artillery, and a garriſon of 3000 men.

In a deep valley, under the ſouth ſide of this place, is an encampment of KHALMUCK TARTARS, who are in friendſhip with the RUSSIANS ſo long as they awe them by their power; for theſe barbarians do not keep

[r] 688 miles.

their

their faith more invi[illegible] than ſome politer nations. The KHALMUCKS have the ſame form of viſage as the CHINESE, but more fierce and ſavage. Theſe are diſperſed tribes of thoſe MUNGALIANS whom the CHINESE long ſince received as their conquerors. They are armed with bows and arrows, and feed on the fleſh of horſes, camels, dromedaries, and other animals, and eat the entrails of them, even when the beaſt dies of the foulеſt diſtemper. They throw their dead into open fields, to be devoured by dogs; of which many run wild, and ſome are kept for this purpoſe. If their bodies are thus devoured by any number exceeding ſix, they think honourably of the ſtate of the deceaſed; otherwiſe he is a diſgrace to his relations. I could not learn that they have any perſuaſion of the immortality of the ſoul; for the honour derived from the number of dogs which devour the body, rather ſeems to regard the reputation of the dead amongſt the living, than any opinion concerning the happy or miſerable ſtate of the ſoul of the deceaſed.

They worſhip images, which generally conſiſt of a ſmall bit of wood about a palm in length; the upper part of it being rounded, is adorned with ſome rude marks to reſemble human features; the figure being thus prepared is dreſſed up with a few rags. It is horrid to the imagination, that any creature bearing the form of human nature, ſhould be ſunk into ſuch blindneſs, as to pay divine honours to ſo baſe a repreſentation; though the difference of this and any other image-worſhip does not ſeem to be very great: their ſupreme deity is the DELLI LAMA. In fine weather and proſperous ſeaſons, they careſs theſe ragged deities, but treat them very ill when the contrary happens[1]: and here it ought to be remarked, that the eye obſerves the externals of a religion, but to arrive at men's hearts is no vulgar taſk, eſpecially where the ignorance of barbarous languages obſtructs all familiar correſpondency. The many violences committed by theſe barbarians, at length induced the RUSSIAN government to compel them to take up their habitations on the banks of

[1] I have been well informed, that the PORTUGUESE ſeamen often give St. ANTHONY the laſh, when the winds are croſs to them.

the

the VOLGA, below ASTRACHAN, where they have a leſs field for robbery and murder, though here alſo they tranſgreſs, as I ſhall have occaſion to relate.

Having letters of recommendation to KALZOFF, the commandant of ZARITZEN, I was kindly received; but upon ſuch occaſions it is neceſſary to preſent ſome FRENCH brandy, ſugar, or the like, as an earneſt for protection. Colonel BEAUSOBRE, and another FRENCHMAN, who was an officer in the RUSSIAN ſervice, made acquaintance with me, and were extremely polite and obliging. News was juſt then arrived, that the inſpector of the cuſtoms, attended by four ſoldiers, in coming from ASTRACHAN, had been murdered by the KHALMUCKS: theſe FRENCH officers however aſſured me I might go down the VOLGA without danger, becauſe the TARTARS of every denomination were kept in ſubjection to the RUSSIAN government; and that the murder of the inſpector and his men, was a conſequence of their raſhneſs in attempting to ſteal ſome of the KHALMUCKS children. I told them, that I was the more amazed at ſuch an enterprize, as children two or three years old, had been offered me by the KHALMUCKS for two rubles a head.

The colonel hearing that I was going to PERSIA, ſpoke much of NADIR SHAH, who had given great alarms on that ſide, when he was laſt winter in the neighbourhood of DERBEND; inſomuch that a body of 18,000 RUSSIANS had been ordered to ASTRACHAN and KIZLAR. He obſerved further, that the cold was then ſo intenſe, that on ſome days 80 men died, many for want of brandy, and many for drinking too much, but the greater part by the unavoidable conſequences of a laborious march in ſo rigid a ſeaſon.

I now employed myſelf in procuring a proper veſſel to convey my caravan to ASTRACHAN, and had the good fortune to find one which was juſt arrived with 400 bags of flower. The beſt proof that ſhe could bear a burthen, was that of ſeeing her loaded. This however gave me no great ſatisfaction, for I was extremely ſhocked to ſee on what

ſlight

ſlight embarcations my [illegible] were obliged to truſt their valuable effects, in the navigation of a river full of ſhelves and trees, which accidentally falling into the water, ſink, and become as dangerous as rocks, an experience which we had that very ſummer made by a rich cargo of ſilk that was much damaged, and in imminent danger of being intirely loſt. The reader will imagine that 40 rubles[r] cannot purchaſe a good veſſel; however this price procured the beſt I could find. Their decks are only looſe pieces of the bark of trees; they have no knees, and but few beams: hardly any pitch or tar is uſed; in place of it are long ſlips of bark, which they nail over the gaping ſeams, to prevent the looſe and bad corking from falling out. Inſtead of iron bolts, they have ſpikes of deal with round heads. The method of keeping them clear of water, is by a large ſcoop which is ſuſpended by the beam over the well-way, and through a ſcuttle at a proper height they ſcoop out the water with great facility. Notwithſtanding theſe veſſels appeared as ſo many wrecks, the trade carried on by means of them is very conſiderable. The ARMENIANS ſometimes load goods on large barks of 2 or 300 tons, at the rate of 50 copeeks per bale.

After giving the neceſſary inſtructions with regard to the convoy of my caravan, we prepared for our own voyage down the VOLGA; for this purpoſe we bought two boats, to be navigated each by five BOURLACKS[r] and my own attendants, with an addition of ſix ſoldiers as a convoy. Tho' I had received ſuch aſſurances of ſafety, prudence ſuggeſted to me that we could not gain, but might loſe conſiderably by too much confidence; and experience confirmed this to me.

It was here I had firſt an opportunity of hearing the hiſtory of the VOLGA and CASPIAN pirates, particularly of thoſe who commit murders and robberies on this great river. According to the fundamental law of the government in RUSSIA, the people are in a ſtate of vaſſalage, and one man can call another his property by virtue of his purchaſe, or by a right

[r] Eight pounds. [r] Watermen ſo called.

of

of inheritance. According to this law, no VASSAL can leave the lands of his lord without permiſſion given, and ſignified by a paſſport, the term of which ſeldom extends above a year or two. When the time is expired, the vaſſal muſt return home, no matter how far off, or how great his poverty, to renew his paſſport and receive his lord's commands, unleſs by any particular indulgence, he can obtain a renewal of it by writing to his friends. Theſe paſſports are generally regiſtered in the towns or villages where the vaſſal reſides, and great care is taken by the POLICE to ſee this executed: by this means, and likewiſe by making it neceſſary to take paſſports before they quit the place, the POLICE knows the condition and number of the inhabitants. A regiſter is made alſo of foreigners reſiding in every place in the empire, who are obliged to make a report of themſelves and their domeſtics. Hence it comes that there is no country in the world of ſuch vaſt extent, where thieves and murderers can be more eaſily diſcovered, and where they are more frequently apprehended.

Among vaſt numbers of common people, it is not to be imagined, but by accident or wilful neglect, ſome of them will violate the law with regard to their paſſports; and being thus rendered obnoxious to puniſhment, the worſt of them grow deſperate; and though the numbers of ſuch perſons was much greater in leſs civilized times than the preſent, yet many to this day turn robbers by land and water, chuſing the great rivers near vaſt tracts of uninhabited countries, where upon occaſion they can the more eaſily eſcape. The ſeverities of the maſters of fiſheries near the mouths of the YAEIK and VOLGA, alſo tempt their vaſſals to turn pirates; whenever they are warmly purſued, or diſtreſſed for a ſupport, they run their veſſels aſhore, turn mahommedans, and put themſelves under the protection of the PERSIANS. Theſe robbers often go in gangs of 30, 40, and ſometimes 80 perſons, in row-boats which carry from 20 to 30 hands: they equip themſelves with fire-arms, and their general practice is to board immediately; but where a fierce reſiſtance is apprehended, they ſeldom attack.

The

The ARMENIAN merchants formerly ſent their goods from ARCHANGEL to SARATOFF, and when the ſcene of trade was changed from ARCHANGEL to St. PETERSBURG, they went from thence either to TWERE or SARATOFF, according to the ſeaſon of the year, and there embarked on the VOLGA; this being a more eaſy and cheap conveyance; but the frequency of robberies at length determined them to convey their caravans to ZARITZEN, as making ſo much the ſhorter tract down the VOLGA. Few of the RUSSIAN merchants tranſport any cargo of value down this river without a convoy. Theſe robbers appear moſtly in the ſpring, when the banks of the VOLGA being overflowed, they have a greater field, and can the more eaſily eſcape a purſuit. The ſoldiers who are occaſionally ſent after them, are ordered to take them alive, from an apprehenſion that a latitude to kill might ſubject the innocent to great inconveniencies, through a miſtake which a ſtrong temptation to plunder would ſometimes create in a ſoldier's breaſt.

The ARMENIANS are generally intrepid, and fight bravely in defence of their property; but the BOURLACKS who navigate the VOLGA are ſo extremely intimidated by theſe robbers, that as ſoon as they appear, they generally behave like men ſtruck with a panic, and even aſcribe to them an irreſiſtible power, derived from an infernal ſpirit. Formerly their cuſtom in theſe caſes was to fall on their faces, as ſoon as required by the robbers, and ſuffer them to plunder at pleaſure, not daring to look up, leſt it ſhould coſt them their lives. The maſter of the veſſel, or the merchant, being thus at their mercy, is happy if he eſcapes with his life; for theſe robbers have ſeldom any ſentiments of humanity to a man of a ſuperior rank; but if he attempts to defend himſelf in hopes of bringing his people to the charge, he may be ſure, if conquered, of being barbarouſly murdered. The ſame conduct which theſe pirates obſerve on the VOLGA, they have been accuſtomed to alſo on the CASPIAN ſea, but much leſs of late years than formerly.

As their cruelties are very great, ſo is the puniſhment inflicted on them when they are taken. A float is built, in ſize according to the number

of the delinquents, and a gallows erected [redacted], to contain a ſufficient number of iron hooks, on which they are hung alive by the ribs. The float is launched into the ſtream, with labels over their heads ſignifying their crimes; and orders are given to all towns and villages on the borders of the river, upon pain of death, not only to afford no relief to any of theſe wretches, but to puſh off the float, ſhould it land near them. Sometimes their partners in wickedneſs meet them, and, if there are any ſigns of life, take them down, otherwiſe they ſhoot them dead; but if they are catched in theſe acts of illegal mercy, they are hung up without the ceremony of a trial, as happened about eight years ago. They tell of one of theſe miſcreants, who had the fortune to diſengage himſelf from the hook, and though naked, and trembling with pain and loſs of blood, he got aſhore. The firſt object he ſaw who could afford him any relief, was a poor ſhepherd, whoſe brains he beat out with a ſtone, and then took his cloaths. Theſe malefactors ſometimes hang thus three, four, and ſome five days alive. The pain generally produces a raving fever, in which they utter the moſt horrid imprecations, and implore the relief of water, or other ſmall liquors.

It is time now to reſume my narrative. The 14th of October, I ſent letters to my friends, by meſſengers who are appointed to attend a box of grapes, which is ſent from ASTRACHAN to the EMPRESS's court every three days during the ſeaſon. It is carried by two horſes, ſupported in the manner of a litter. The grapes are preſerved in ſand, but at beſt are ill worth the expence of the conveyance for 1200 ENGLISH miles.

Having given all neceſſary orders for the ſpeedy conveyance of my caravan, as ſoon as it ſhould arrive at ZARITZEN, I took my leave of colonel BEAUSOBRE, and my other new acquaintance. The colonel told me, that I muſt expect to find PERSIA more than half ruined by civil war, and that he was glad NADIR was at ſuch a diſtance from RUSSIA, as to create no alarm on this ſide of the country.

The

The wind being at [illegible]h eaſt, we put off the ſhore; the ſtern part of my boat was covered with matts, ſo that I could ſleep in it protected from the weather, which now began to be very cold. I took a part of the ſoldiers with me, that if by any accident our convoy ſhould be ſeparated from us, we might have ſome aſſiſtance. I was ſurprized to ſee the banks of the river marked near 20 feet above the water, but the boatmen aſſured me, that the water roſe in the ſpring to that height. The wind blowing hard, we were obliged to bring to, running behind a little iſland, of which the river in many places forms a great variety.

The 15th, I ſaw ſeveral large water birds, much bigger than ſwans, which they reſemble in their feet and beaks; the RUSSIANS call them DIKA BABA[1]. They have a very large craw, where they receive a great quantity of food, even a whole fiſh of a conſiderable ſize. They fly, as I ſaw afterward on the CASPIAN, very near to each other, in the form of a ſemicircle, not far above the water; and having driven the fiſh together in a body into the ſhallows, they dart down upon them: this is their only food. The fat of this bird is uſed by the RUSSIANS as a cure for aches and bruiſes.

In the ſpring, the high waters of the VOLGA not only undermine its banks, but ſweep away large trees, ſo that ſome creeks of the river had hardly any paſſage left. When they are open, it is more agreeable to paſs through the ſmall branches, than the great channel. As we had hitherto a contrary wind, by the 16th we advanced no farther than 50 werſts. We were now near NASOROWSKY, an iſland formed by this river. Not far from hence are to be ſeen the ruins of a large antient city. Our ſoldiers were fed luxuriouſly at the fiſheries, for nothing more than thanks.

The weather was calm, and the current moderate; in many places are high banks, in others it is a flat ſhore, the breadth varying from

[1] Signifies wild old woman.

a mile to a quarter. Here they have a qu[illegible] of wild aſparagus, and many eagles.

The 17th. Finding our convoy did not keep up with us, we ſtopped at CHERNOYARE. This is the firſt town from ZARITZEN, at the diſtance of 200 werſts, generally called midway to ASTRACHAN. It is defended by a ditch, with ſome cannon and chevaux de frize. They trade with the KHALMUCKS, KOOBANS, and other TARTARS, in a quarter diſtinct from the town. It is remarkable that this, as well as many other places on the VOLGA, ſuffered the fury of the flames about the ſame time, during the laſt war with the TURKS: not that their enemies need employ any ſecret incendiaries; the common people do this buſineſs effectually by their careleſſneſs. About 1630, a rich caravan was ſet upon in the river at this place, by a body of 700 COSSACKS, who plundered and put all to the ſword, the convoy having inadvertently gone ſo far down the ſtream as not to be able to return in time to ſave the caravan. From hence I learnt the great neceſſity of carrying part of my ſoldiers in the ſame boat with me, tho' I apprehended no ſuch formidable enemy.

The 18th, though we were obliged to lay by in the night, we advanced 90 werſts: but it was not without danger of being drowned; for our boat had no keel, nor any running tackle, and our watermen were extremely unſkilful, ſo that not being able to let the ſail fly, it was a ſingular providence that a guſt of wind had not ſet us ſwimming. As we proceeded further, ſeveral wrecks appeared on the banks of the river. Great flights of geeſe and ſwans were now on the wing, retiring from the approaching ſeverities of this climate, to the warmer regions of PERSIA. It is ſaid, that theſe birds lay their eggs in the ſand on the banks of the VOLGA, and are hatched by the heat of the ſun, which however I do not aſſert as a fact.

The 19th, we advanced near 90 werſts, where we found a houſe made under-ground; the walls were of wicker work, and the light came in from the top. Here was provided a bagnio for waſhing, which the RUSSIANS uſe almoſt as much as the MAHOMMEDANS. We found the

the place inhabited by [redacted]e NAGAY and CIRCASSIAN TARTARS, who ply on the river with open poſt boats, of which there are a few regular ſtages for the convenience of the government. Here were alſo ſome ſettlements of the KHALMUCKS.

From ZARITZEN to ASTRACHAN very little wood appears on the banks of the VOLGA. In ſome parts of the weſtern ſide, the country is hilly, but the ſoil in ſeveral places is rich. It is ſaid that many FRENCH refugees who were obliged to abandon their country in the time of LEWIS XIV. made an offer to PETER the GREAT, to ſettle in this tract of land; but as they required a ſeparate government, and privileges not conſiſtent with the arbitrary power by which the the RUSSIAN empire is governed, he declined the offer, eſteeming it very abſurd in politics for a free ſtate to be planted within an arbitrary monarchy, eſpecially ſo near a vaſt tract of land, inhabited by a multitude of roving people, who, if conducted with art and deſign, might become very formidable [a].

CHAP. XVII.

Captain THOMAS WOODROOFE's *journal from* MOSCO *to* CASAN. *He builds a ſhip at* CASAN *for the navigation of the* CASPIAN; *winters there, and ſails* 1000 ENGLISH *miles down the* VOLGA *to* ASTRACHAN.

AS we are now arrived at ASTRACHAN by the common way, the reader perhaps will find ſome entertainment in being conducted hither by another rout leſs frequented, of which the following extract of captain WOODROOFE's journal will give ſome idea.

"NOVEMBER the 20th, 1740, we ſet out from MOSCO for CA-
"SAN, with nine horſes and ſix ſervants, by an unfrequented road

[a] This caſe was reverſed in the highlands of SCOTLAND, where before the year 1748, was an arbitrary government within a limited monarchy; an abſurdity no leſs ſtriking.

croſs

" croſs the country. The 24th, we arrived at PENDENSCO, which was " immediately abandoned by the male inhabitants, from an apprehenſion " that we were military officers. We were thus left to the kindneſs " of the women, who entertained us with bread, butter, fowls, &c. and " our horſes with hay and corn, at the expence of 20 copeeks*, ſo " extremely cheap were proviſions. The next morning we ſet forward " towards COVERRO, another village on the banks of the CREEVOY, a " ſmall river that runs into the VOLGA: here we found ſeveral large veſ- " ſels, and an appearance of trade.

" Nov. the 29th. The ſnow being melted, and the country intirely " a ſwamp, we were obliged to wait for froſty weather. In the interim " a lieutenant, his wife and two daughters, with five ſoldiers, were " brought to this place in a very deplorable condition, having been " ſtript, plundered, and barbarouſly beaten by a gang of robbers. This " country abounds with partridges and white hares; they have alſo a fowl " they call a TATARIN, much reſembling a pheaſant; it is larger, but not " ſo beautiful, nor of ſo fine a flavour. In the neighbouring woods are " many bears and wolves of a great ſize, but not fierce, having wild hogs " and other animals in great abundance for their prey.

" Dec. the 9th. The roads being now tolerably good, we proceeded " on our journey. The natives have cattle in abundance, and plenty of " butter, which they make by melting down the cream; as to cheeſe, it " is not known to them. The 15th, we paſſed the river OCCA, but the " ice being very rotten, two of our horſes with a load of canvas fell " through it. The 24th, we arrived among the CHUWASHIN tartars, the " pooreſt and moſt wretched of all mortals; they are deſcended from " the KOOBANS and ſubject to RUSSIA, but now driven to the eaſt- " ward. KOOBAN, in the RUSSIAN language ſignifies a wild hog; which " name was given to theſe Tartars on account of their fierce and ſavage " nature, having coſt IVAN WASSILOWITZ more trouble to ſubdue them,

* Ten-pence.

" than

" than either the CRIM or NAGAY Tartars: they are loaden with a heavy " poll-tax both for themſelves and cattle. We could not diſcover what " notions the CHUVASHINS have of religion, but obſerved when they dreſs " victuals, they ſtick part of it over their doors and windows; and when " they kill an animal, which their poverty but ſeldom permits, their " prieſt takes out the fat, and after eating ſome of it and greaſing him- " ſelf, he ſmears over their place of worſhip, and the droſs or refuſe he " burns: They generally ſubſiſt on dead animals, which they devour " greedily. The neighbouring TARTARS eat horſe-fleſh, and dreſs it " like that of any other animal.

" Dec. the 27th. We arrived at CASAN, having been 58 days in travel- " ling 1300 werſts[z], occaſioned by the badneſs of the roads. Captain " ELTON was already arrived at this place. Here is a conſiderable admi- " ralty-yard: they had then on the ſtocks five fly-boats of about 250 " tons, five ſmacks of 180 tons, and five ſmall damſcoots[y] of about 25 " tons, which were to be launched the enſuing ſpring, and might be " ready in caſe of any neceſſity[x] to employ them on the CASPIAN. The " maſter-builder having already received orders to build a ſhip for the " ENGLISH merchants, had therefore diſpatched people into the woods " to cut timber.

" CASAN is a city of great importance, both from its ſituation and pro- " ductions. It had formerly a conſiderable trade to KHIEVA, BOKHARA, " and other places in TARTARY, which is now loſt; but the commerce " with PERSIA is yet continued. This place has ſeveral manufactures of " red RUSSIA leather, and ſends large quantities of this commodi- " ty annually to St. PETERSBURG. The country abounds in oaks, the " bark of which they make into a kind of tar for curing hides, and they " are very ſtrict in preventing its being carried away. As they have " plenty of cattle, they have conſequently a conſiderable quantity of

[z] 866 miles. [y] Veſſels ſo called. [x] NADIR SHAH at this time was apprehended as an enemy.

" tallow.

" tallow. The timber uſed for the RUSSIAN navy is cut down in the " neighbourhood of this city; it is of an excellent quality, but they do " not diſtinguiſh ſufficiently the trees which are on the decay: they alſo " cut the timber at the leaf as well as at the fall, and often ſuffer it to " lay too long on the ground. They are generally two ſummers in con- " veying it to St. PETERSBURG, which is done in low flat bottomed veſ- " ſels, taking the advantage of the riſing of the river to go up to " TWERE, and from thence into the canal by the LADOGA lake. From " TURKEY they bring wine and fruits to CASAN; and MOSCO ſupplies it " with groceries and EUROPEAN commodities. Here are to be had the " furs of SIBERIA and TARTARY, as alſo all kinds of iron work.

" The caravans which annually arrive here from CHINA, occaſion " a great plenty of tea. This is the greateſt magazine in RUSSIA, except " MOSCO and St. PETERSBURG for all kinds of merchandize. It is " advantageouſly ſituated for the commerce of the ſouth eaſt parts, even " to CHINA; the province itſelf reaching quite to SIBERIA. The TAR- " TARS who live in great numbers in this neighbourhood, are clean and " neat in their perſons. Here are markets for horſes, ſheep, and all other " kinds of cattle: proviſions in general are very cheap, and great quan- " tities are ſent down to ASTRACHAN, and to all the towns and ſettle- " ments on the VOLGA. CASAN is the metropolis of a kingdom, and for- " merly was the ſeat of government. It was taken by IVAN WASSI- " LOWITZ in 1552, from the TARTARS, with whom the RUSSIANS " maintained a bloody war for ſome years.

" January the 15th, 1741. As a compliment to Mr. ELTON we laid the " ſhip's keel, which was 65 feet in length, and fixed the ſtem and ſtern " poſts; after which he ſet out for St. PETERSBURG, to receive a conſi- " derable cargo of goods expected there by the firſt ſpring ſhips, and " intended for the PERSIAN markets. He left the ſole care of building " the ſhip to me, but I had neither a boat-builder, rigger, or ſail-maker.

" May

" May the 30th, the ſhip was launched, though her upper-works were " yet unfiniſhed; for the waters fell away ſo faſt that we were afraid of " being aground, which was the reaſon of our tranſporting her three " miles into the great VOLGA down the ſmall river, upon which the ad- " miralty yard ſtands. July the 10th, we ſtept our maſts and bow- " ſprit, and ſet the rigging over head. During our abode in this place, " ſix pirates were apprehended for robbing ſeveral RUSSIAN merchants " on the VOLGA; and after they had been hung up by the ribs on a " gallows erected on a floating ſtage, they were turned a drift as a ſpec- " tacle of horror to deter others from the ſame evil practice.

" October the 20th, Captain ELTON arrived in a bark with a conſider- " able cargo of BRITISH goods from St. PETERSBURG deſigned for GHI- " LAN: but the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, that it would have been " very dangerous to have proceeded on our voyage; ſo that the 27th we " got the ſhip and bark into their birth ten werſts below CASAN, where " we intended to winter; and the river was frozen up that night. In " the interim captain GILBERT BLAIRE arrived at CASAN, intending to " build another ENGLISH ſhip for the CASPIAN trade.

" November the 10th, the ice broke up, and drove down the river " with great violence, in ſome places at leaſt 10 or 15 feet above the " ſurface of the water. On the 15th it ſet faſt again, and ſledges paſſed " over as uſual. In this melancholy ſituation we waited the return of " the ſpring: in the mean time we removed the cargo from the bark " into the ſhip; and to prevent any ſurprize we kept a conſtant watch of " two men on deck, myſelf and another perſon continuing in the cabbin, " while the reſt of the crew were on ſhore.

" April the 16th, 1742. We had weathered out the inclement ſeaſon " with as good ſpirits as could be expected in ſo bad a neighbourhood, " where there was leſs to fear from the elements and wild beaſts than " from thieves and murderers: however, under the protection of heaven, " we received no injury during five months confinement. There began

" to be a flood in the VOLGA; when the water coming by the melting of " the ſnow, ſevered the ice from the banks, and breaking it to pieces, " drove it along with the current. Winter leaving us, we began to rig " and prepare for ſea. On the 25th, the river was free of all obſtruction, " when we received the news that her imperial majeſty ELIZABETH PE- " TROWNA was to be crowned that day at MOSCO; on which occaſion " we fired our guns, and giving liquor to the ſhip's company to drink the " health of the empreſs, we named the ſhip, ELIZABETH.

" Advice was now brought us that four large pirate boats knowing " we had a valuable cargo, intended to attack us in going down the " river. The ſhip was well provided with arms and ammunition, hav- " ing ſix carriage guns of three pounders, with cloſe quarters and eight " oars to command her in the ſtream. We had alſo a launch of ten tuns " with ſixteen oars; a long-boat of five tuns, and a yaul, each with ſix " oars. The RUSSIANS expreſſed great admiration at our going down " under full ſail, being a practice unuſual: they repreſented the danger of " running aground, but their apprehenſions did not intimidate us.

" Nothing happened to diſturb our voyage till the 29th, when, a lit- " tle before ſun-ſet, three large boats, each of ſixteen oars and full of " men, came out of the reeds 30 werſts below SIMBERSKIE. We im- " mediately cleared for a defence, and as ſoon as they were within call, " bid them keep at a diſtance; at the ſame time we diſcharged ſome muſ- " kets wide of them. Finding them ſlight theſe menaces, we fired one " of our guns loaded with partridge-ſhot into the headmoſt, and ſaw " five or ſix men fall from their oars, who, as we afterwards learnt, " died of their wounds. The reſt not liking ſuch a ſalutation, retired " with great precipitation into a ſmall creek in the reeds.

" May the 23d, we proceeded without further moleſtation, and ar- " rived at ASTRACHAN, where we anchored oppoſite to the governor's " houſe, after a voyage of 1445 werſts* from CASAN to this place, which

*963 miles.

" we

" we performed in 28 days. On the 28th, the governor, vice-governor,
" and commander of the garriſon, came on board and congratulated Mr.
" ELTON on his ſafe arrival, aſſuring him that he had the honour of
" being the firſt * who had ſpread ENGLISH colours in that part of the
" world, and that this was the firſt ſhip that had ever ſailed on the
" VOLGA perfectly equipped. After paying theſe compliments, they
" drank ſucceſs to the BRITISH PERSIAN trade; and thanks were return-
" ed from the mouths of our cannon. The merchants employed them-
" ſelves in viewing and meaſuring our ſhip, which they acknowledged to
" be the firſt complete one they had ever ſeen in that part of the world.
" The RUSSIAN government build hulls after the DUTCH manner fit for
" ſhoal water; but the work is ſo ill put together, that they do not laſt
" long.

" PETER the GREAT had a conſiderable fleet of veſſels on the CAS-
" PIAN, which are long ſince periſhed. The largeſt they had then, was
" of about 180 tuns, of a circular form, which when loaded, they were
" obliged to frap with hauſers, to prevent her falling to pieces. This,
" with ſeveral others, was built in the admiralty yard at CASAN. The
" merchants now float down timber to ASTRACHAN, where for want of
" a proper yard and mechanics, they build in the old RUSSIAN form,
" long flat bottomed veſſels with ſquare ſails, and the top ſails to hawl
" down upon the deck: with ſuch ſhips, by the help of good ground-
" tackle, they navigate the CASPIAN. Their cordage is exceeding ſtrong,
" as are likewiſe their anchors made in the antient form, notwith-
" ſtanding they are very ill ſhaped. On the contrary, the modern ones
" made by the famous DEMEDOFFS in SIBERIA, the patentees of the iron-
" works, tho' better proportioned are not ſo ſtrong. Their canvas is
" chiefly made at YARISLAW and MOSCO, and is generally very good.

" The RUSSIAN merchants and pilots were ready to give Mr. ELTON the
" beſt information they could in regard to the navigation of the CASPIAN;

* ENGLISH colours had been hoiſted before, as I have related in the firſt chapter.

" but as their ſkill extended little further than coaſting, and a ſuperficial " knowledge of the ſoundings along ſhore, he could reap but little ad- " vantage from their experience. They rather diſcouraged us by their " apprehenſions of rocks and ſhoals, which they pretend are very thick " in different parts of this ſea, but chiefly between APSHERON and BALK- " HAN. It might indeed be ſaid that we were venturing into a ſea very " little known, where commerce had never made any conſiderable pro- " greſs; the natives of thoſe inhoſpitable ſhores, except the RUSSIANS, " having hardly employed their imperfect navigation to any other pur- " poſe than to ſurprize and plunder their unguarded neighbours. Thus " it was with the TARTARS and PERSIANS, till the RUSSIAN arms brought " the one into ſubjection, and awing the other, gained an entire juriſ- " diction over this great mediterranean lake."

The RUSSIANS had at this time put a ſtop to the navigation of the KHALMUCK TARTARS, by depriving them of all their large boats: and the TURKUMANS being out of the ordinary track to GHILAN, our navigation had nothing to fear. WOODROOFE's ſhip being laden, drew 8 ½ feet water. All things being prepared for the voyage, they weighed for GHILAN, and getting down to CHETIRIE BOGORIE, cleared at the guardſhip, and diſcharged their Pilot. They had a RUSSIAN chart, made in the reign of PETER the GREAT, but for greater ſecurity, they kept a watch day and night at the maſt-head, and hove the deep-ſet lead every half hour in the day, and quarter in the night. The long-boat and yawl were on the deck; but the largeſt boat was towed a-ſtern, being raiſed with waſh-boards for that purpoſe."

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The reception the author met with from the governor of ASTRACHAN. *Some account of that gentleman, and his intended hiſtory of* RUSSIA. *Freſh complaints of Mr.* ELTON'S *being engaged in the* PERSIAN *ſervice. The author preſents a petition to the imperial chancery at* ASTRACHAN.

THUS far we have accompanied capt. WOODROOFE in his account; it is now time to return to my own ſtory. I was kindly received in ASTRACHAN by Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON, agent to the BRITISH merchants trading to PERSIA; and alſo by the governor, general WASSILIE NIKIETISH TATTISCHEFF, to whom I carried a valuable preſent on account of the merchants. I had much diſcourſe with him, and he gave me many aſſurances that nothing on his part ſhould be wanting to promote the intereſt of the merchants trading to PERSIA: he propoſed to me ſome ſchemes in which he had regard to the intereſt both of GREAT BRITAIN and RUSSIA. This old Man had been a page to PETER the GREAT, and having long commanded in thoſe parts, was greatly inſtrumental in reducing the TARTARS: but his genius turned moſt to literature and commerce; nor was he at all deficient in the arts of gain: on this laſt account he was already in ſome diſgrace; however he had one good maxim, which, as he obſerved to me, was to give, as well as take. He told me had bought for 5000 rubles, a diamond worth 12000, and had ſent it to the greateſt lady in the empire: he mentioned likewiſe that he had been about four and twenty years writing the hiſtory of RUSSIA. Upon his recall from ASTRACHAN two years afterwards, he ſent me part of that hiſtory in manuſcript, requeſting me to procure a tranſlation; but this by no means ſuited my convenience. The letter he wrote to my partner and me on this occaſion, runs as follows:

" GEN-

" GENTLEMEN,

" SINCE I left ASTRACHAN, I have had no opportunity of writing to " you, altho' I retain a conſtant remembrance of the affection and " regard which you have always ſhewn me.

" You know I have been engaged for near thirty years in writing " a hiſtory of RUSSIA, which I am now about finiſhing, and hope it " will ſoon appear in print to the ſatisfaction of the learned world. This " hiſtory is the more to be eſteemed by the curious part of mankind, " as none of the antient GREEK and ROMAN hiſtorians, nor any geo- " graphical accounts of this empire, have gone ſo far as to inform us " of the original dialect, &c. of the principal nations, viz. the SCLA- " VONIANS, SCYTHIANS, and SARMATIANS; nor of the AMAZONS, " VANDALS, GOTHS, and CIMMERIANS, who deſcended from them; " neither have we any perfect account remaining of the HUNNS and " AVARI. The great diſtance of places, and ignorance of the lan- " guages, have made it difficult to obtain a right information of them; " add to this, the GREEKS had ſo great a taſte for fables, rather than " for a diligent ſearch after truth, that they have rendered facts very " obſcure, of which the fooliſh tale of the AMAZONS is a proof. Of " all theſe nations I have endeavoured as much as poſſible to give a " clear and particular account, which compoſes the firſt part of my hiſ- " tory of RUSSIA.

" The ſecond, begins with RURIC, prince of the FINS, who invaded " this country, and founded the RUSSIAN empire, which continued from " the year 860 to the incurſions of the TARTARS in 1238. This part " contains many things relating to the hiſtories of other countries; as " affinities by marriage, alliances, wars and treaties between the RUS- " SIAN monarchs and other nations, particularly the NORWEGIANS, " SWEDES, HUNGARIANS, and both the weſtern and eaſtern monarchies; " which in the hiſtories of thoſe countries are either entirely loſt or

" tranſ-

" tranſmitted down in very dark manner: I take no notice of natural " hiſtory. Theſe two parts are entirely finiſhed.

" Induced by the particular affection I have for the ENGLISH nation, " and my veneration for your royal ſociety, on account of the great ad- " vantages the world receives from their ſeveral learned works, and their " encouragement of uſeful knowledge, I have thought proper, as a mark " of reſpect, to dedicate my hiſtory to them: but I am at a loſs for want " of tranſlators, and dare not venture to ſend it to ENGLAND in the ori- " ginal, leſt the miſtaking of facts, through want of a perfect know- " ledge of the RUSSIAN language, ſhould render the tranſlation defective. " I have therefore thought it the beſt way, that you would pleaſe to re- " commend me two good tranſlators in the GERMAN; for as I underſtand " that language, I can myſelf correct any miſtake that ſhall happen: " and when this is done, it will not be a difficult matter to have it tranſ- " lated into other languages.

" I am, &c.

The governor made no ſecret of his work, and having brought it down no lower than PETER the GREAT, he could hardly have given offence; however the envy of his parts among the literati, the reſentments of the pious for his infidelity, which I fear was great, and the clamours of the merchants for his rapaciouſneſs, occaſioned his being two years afterwards ſent into civil baniſhment to his own eſtate near MOSCO, where he ended his life. His works ſeem to have died with him, at leaſt they have not found a favourable reception at the academy of St. PETERSBURG. It is however probable, that the great pains he took in collecting ſeveral choice materials, may be a means of ſome other perſon's building a reputation upon his labours. This old man was remarkable for his ſocratical look, his emaciated body, which he preſerved many years by great temperance, and for keeping his mind continually employed. When he was not writing, reading, or diſcourſing about buſineſs, he played at dice one hand againſt the other.

He

He complained to me, that he feared our principal factor ELTON was really engaged in the ſervice of NADIR SHAH, which might have very pernicious conſequences, by drawing on us the reſentment of his court; and he recommended to me, if it was not too late, to perſuade him from ſo raſh an enterprize. He then ſpoke of the ARMENIAN traders, who were our great opponents, obſerving, "that they are the moſt crafty "people in all ASIA, and delight in fraud. Let them, continued he, "get 50 per cent. in a fair way, they are not contented without cheating "five, and the five is ſweeter to them than the 50." Though this is in ſome meaſure true, part of it might be carried to the account of the old man's inability, crafty as he was, to get of them all he deſired. The GOUBERNIE [c], which is compoſed of a deputy governor, a ſecretary, and other officers, is a great check on the governor of this place; yet as ſhips can neither leave the port, nor be permitted to PRATTIC but by his permiſſion, he has frequent opportunities of gain.

Not long ſince, the RUSSIANS made immenſe profits by ſelling proviſions to the PERSIANS, when there was ſo great a ſcarcity that moſt of the inhabitants of DERBEND periſhed for want; a KOULE [d] of meal, which coſt one ruble, being ſold for twenty. NADIR SHAH upon this, gave notice to the merchants, that he ſhould want a larger quantity, giving them tacitly to expect that he would not alter the price; they accordingly brought it, but he diſappointed their expectations, by fixing a more moderate price, yet ſuch as was very profitable to them. This is a prohibited trade, but ſo advantageous that it ſeems to be the intereſt of the government to connive at it. Upon the occaſion of their being alarmed with NADIR SHAH's approaches, the merchants, as well as the governor, were called to an account, and probably obliged to purchaſe their peace with part of their gain.

I was ſeveral times with the governor, whoſe diſcourſe ran continually on ELTON; the ſum of it was, "that NADIR SHAH having conceived

[c] The government's chancery. [d] A large bag ſo called.

"an

" an high opinion of this gentleman's capacity, had made him preſents, " and either engaged him for a ſalary to build ſhips for him, or re- " quired his aſſiſtance to ſuperintend ſuch an undertaking: that ELTON " had already met with great difficulties, the timber being knotty, and " the roads to the ſhip yard hardly paſſable. He obſerved moreover that " the PERSIANS were extremely ignorant of maritime affairs, and averſe " to any employment of that nature, ſo that it would require much " time to bring them to maturity; but as ſuch enterprizes were no way " relative to affairs of commerce, they could not but alarm the RUSSI- " AN court."

I replied to this effect, " I am not inſenſible that ſuch a deſign muſt be " offenſive to RUSSIA, but I am a ſtranger to the nature of ELTON's en- " gagements. If NADIR SHAH is determined to have ſhips, it cannot " depend upon ELTON or any ſingle man. I know RUSSIA muſt natu- " rally be jealous of the PERSIANS, as the SWEDES about fifty years ago " were of the RUSSIANS, who, notwithſtanding, are now become ſo " formidable in the BALTIC: but there is this eſſential difference; whilſt " NADIR builds one ſhip on the coaſt of the CASPIAN, RUSSIA can build " ten of the ſame ſize on the VOLGA, and probably the ten will coſt " no more than his one." Indeed I had no opinion that the affair would ever arrive to ſuch a degree of perfection, as to affect ſo formidable a power as RUSSIA; however I confeſs there was cauſe of jealouſy. Theſe were my real ſentiments, and I was moreover obliged to talk in this ſtile, for fear of giving offence; for Mr. ELTON had brought us into ſuch circumſtances, that it was hardly poſſible to avoid offending the EMPRESS or the SHAH, if not both. I took occaſion alſo to remind the governor, that ARAPOFF the RUSSIAN conſul and ELTON having been at variance, poſſibly the affair might be miſrepreſented; but that in any caſe it ought not to affect me, who was now charged to take care of the commercial intereſt, and of that only. Upon this he deſired me to deliver a memorial to the ſame effect, by way of petition to the chancery.

It was not difficult to foreſee the conſequences of acquieſcing to ſuch an extraordinary demand; though of the two evils I thought it the greateſt to refuſe, as I muſt have been an object of jealouſy, and perhaps actually prevented from proceeding on my voyage: accordingly I delivered the following petition into her imperial majeſty's chancery.

" The petition of JONAS HANWAY BRITISH merchant,

" Sheweth,

" THAT whereas reports have been ſpread, that one of the BRITISH ſubjects reſiding in RESHD, has been concerned in affairs " ungrateful to the court of RUSSIA; your petitioner is now going into " GHILAN to know the truth, and, if neceſſary, to uſe his endeavours to " diſſuade any ſuch ſubject there engaged in trade, from voluntarily " meddling with any other buſineſs; and to prevent as much as poſſible " the BRITISH ſhips on the CASPIAN from being employed in any manner not conſiſtent with the treaty of commerce *; ſo that no juſt cauſe " may be given to create the leaſt obſtruction of the BRITISH trade thro' " the empire of RUSSIA.

" And as the ſeaſon is very far advanced, your petitioner deſires im- " mediate diſpatch may be given to the BRITISH ſhips as ſoon as they " ſhall arrive, &c."

CHAP. XIX.

A deſcription of ASTRACHAN, *and of its fiſheries and trade. An account of the neighbouring* TARTARS, *and of the flights of locuſts with which that country is infeſted. Captain* WOODROOFE *arrives from* PERSIA.

AS I was obliged to wait ſome time for the arrival of captain WOODROOFE, in whoſe ſhip I intended to embark for PERSIA, I had

* It muſt be obſerved however, that the treaty made no proviſion for thoſe ſhips.

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an opportunity of informing myſelf the more fully concerning ASTRACHAN and its neighbourhood.

This city is the metropolis of a kingdom of the ſame name, ſituated within the limits of ASIA in an iſland called DOLGOI, in the latitude of 47, 60 ENGLISH miles from the CASPIAN ſea; and derives its name from HADGEE TERKAN a TARTAR by whom it was founded. It was for many ages ſubject to the TARTARS, from whom it was taken by IVAN WASSILOWITZ CZAR of MUSCOVY in 1554, taken by them again in 1668, and again retaken by the RUSSIANS: the CZAR employed for this purpoſe a great number of flat bottomed veſſels, on which he brought down his forces from CASAN. It contains about 70,000 inhabitants, among whom are many ARMENIANS and TARTARS of various denominations, with a few PERSIANS and INDIANS. The manners and cuſtoms of all theſe different people exhibit an epitome of ASIA. The city is about 2 ½ miles round, but including the ſuburbs near five miles. It is ſurrounded by a brick wall in a ruinous condition, being about 200 years old. Here was a garriſon of ſix regiments of the beſt RUSSIAN troops: and in the adjacent plain they had erected a great number of ſmall batteries, which were intended to ſweep the country, and to prevent the approach of an enemy, NADIR SHAH having lately given ſome alarm on this ſide.

The houſes are of wood, and moſt of them very mean; the higher parts command a proſpect of the VOLGA, which ſpreads itſelf here near three miles, giving pleaſure and convenience to the inhabitants. In the ſummer the people are generally ſickly, which is owing to the marſhy lands near it. The earth being impregnated with ſalt, which appears on the ſurface, is extremely fertile, bearing fruit in abundance, the immoderate uſe of which creates many diſtempers among the common people. Their water-melons[1] are in great eſteem; and in flavour, colour and taſte much the ſame as in PORTUGAL. 'Tis remarkable, that this fruit, tho' extremely juicy, grows beſt in ſand. But beſides the above reaſon, the

[1] Which the RUSSIANS call ARBOOSE.

melting of the ſnow which creates floods, and the riſing of the water alſo in autumn, are obſerved to affect the air and produce ſickneſſes.

The government of ASTRACHAN extends as far as SARATOFF. The city is ſurrounded by gardens and vineyards, which lie about two miles from it. Theſe produce almoſt every kind of garden-ſtuff known in ENGLAND, except potatoes, collyflowers and artichoaks; and their orchards furniſh them with plenty of apples, pears, cherries, &c. OLEARIUS commends the fruits of ASTRACHAN, but I met with none extraordinary, except the water-melons; though the court find the grapes delicious enough to bear the great expence of land carriage, as already mentioned. The wine of ASTRACHAN is alſo very indifferent. As their ſummers are generally dry, they are obliged to water their gardens; this is done by large wheels, ſome of which are moved by horſes, others by the wind. Theſe wheels are of a ſufficient height to throw the water into the higheſt part of the garden, from whence it runs in trenches to the root of every tree and plant. The gardens and vineyards are generally watered in this manner, from the middle of May to the middle of September. The chief game in the neighbouring country is hares and partridges; and in ſummer there is plenty of quails. Here are alſo water and wild fowl of all ſorts in great abundance.

About ten miles below ASTRACHAN is a ſmall iſland called BOSMAKOFF, remarkable for its large ſtorehouſes of ſalt, which is made about twelve miles to the eaſtward of it, and being brought thither in boats, is conveyed in large flat bottomed veſſels up the VOLGA. With this all the country is ſupplied, as far as MOSCO and TWERE. They dig annually ſome millions of poods, the excluſive property of which is claimed by the crown, and brings in a conſiderable revenue[g]; for the common food of the ſoldiery, and of the bulk of the people, is bread and ſalt. In this place alſo are large fiſheries, to which the neighbourhood of the ſalt

[g] In ASTRACHAN they ſell the ſalt at three copeeks a pood, but in RUSSIA at 15 to 18, viz. about a farthing a pound. The revenue of ASTRACHAN is reckoned 140 to 160,000 rubles, or 33,500 l. of which the greateſt part ariſes from ſalt and fiſh.

works

works is of great advantage. Theſe extend even to the ſea, reaching ſouth eaſtward as far as YAEIK, and alſo 100 miles above ZARITZEN. From theſe fiſheries all the country is ſupplied as far as St. PETERSBURG: the veſſels are loaded with ſalt fiſh, and ſent away in the ſpring; but as freſh fiſh keeps good ſo long as it is frozen, the winter is no ſooner ſet in, than it is tranſported by land as far as MOSCO and St. PETERSBURG. The principal ſorts are ſturgeon, ſtarlett, beluga [g], and aſſotra [h].

The firſt eſtabliſher of theſe fiſheries was TIKON DEMEDOFF a carrier, who ſettled there about 50 years ago; his whole fortune then conſiſted in two horſes, but through his induſtry and abilities he became the greateſt merchant in that country. The crown, which before his time was a ſtranger to thoſe advantages, has of late years, beſides the ſalt, engroſſed ſome of the fiſheries alſo.

Captain WOODROOFE, who was for ſome time at ASTRACHAN, aſſured me, that from the latter end of July to the beginning of October, the country about that city is frequently infeſted with locuſts, which fly in ſuch prodigious numbers as to darken the air, and appear at a diſtance like a heavy cloud. The account which the inhabitants give of them is, that generally as the cold weather comes on, they are ſeen in their flight from the northward to the ſouthward. Whenever they fall, they eat up every thing that is green. In this ſeaſon therefore all the gardeners look out for them, and upon their firſt appearance endeavour to keep them off, by making as much ſmoak and as great noiſe as poſſible; but in ſpite of all their art, theſe deſtructive inſects, after flying as long as they are able, ſometimes fall in their gardens, on the tops of houſes, and even into the fires. Their bodies, compared with the ſmallneſs of their wings, are very large. Their ſize is generally from two to two and a half inches long, and about three quarters of an inch in diameter, and their ſhape near the ſame as the largeſt ſort of green graſshopper. WOODROOFE mentions in his journal, that once in particular,

[g] A large white fiſh. [h] It reſembles ſturgeon.

as

as he was ſailing up the VOLGA to ASTRACHAN, he obſerved a prodigious cloud of them coming from the weſt north weſt, which is acroſs the river. The wind at that time blew very freſh, and nearly from the ſame point; when the locuſts falling down, the water was covered with ſuch prodigious ſwarms of them, that in ſome places they greatly obſtructed the motion of the boat for 10 or 12 fathoms together. He ſays alſo that they live for ſome time under water; for as they mounted on each other's backs, they formed a cluſter near three feet diameter, which rolled along by the force of the wind and the rapidity of the current. In this manner they were driven aſhore; their wings being dried, they got upon the paſture, and very few were drowned. They lay ſo thick upon the plain for near three days, to the extent of as many miles, that it was impoſſible to walk without treading on them. When they began to fly, they diſappeared in leſs than half an hour, leaving the plain without a blade of graſs.

The commerce of ASTRACHAN is very conſiderable, though much diminiſhed by the troubles in PERSIA, and the frequent revolts and inſolent behaviour of the TARTARS. Not long ago they traded to KHIEVA and BOKHARA, but at preſent their commerce is confined to the EMPRESS's dominions and PERSIA. The inhabitants had about 38 veſſels, from 60 to 100 laſts[1] for the PERSIAN trade, of which ſome belong to the government and mount a few ſmall pieces of cannon. They are commanded by a midſhipman under a commodore who is generally only a lieutenant in rank, and theſe under the admiralty. This office is generally ſtocked with all naval ſtores, as well for the uſe of the veſſels belonging to the EMPRESS, as to ſupply the merchants.

The trading ſhips carry proviſions to the frontier towns of TERKIE and KISLAR, ſituated on the CASPIAN ſea, and likewiſe merchandize to the ſeveral parts of PERSIA, at certain ſtated rates. They are alſo occaſionally employed by the PERSIANS, to carry proviſions from GHILAN to BAKU,

[1] Of two tons ENGLISH.

employed

DERBEND, and other places; but the RUSSIAN government obſerving that their merchantſhips were employed in the tranſport of proviſions towards their own frontier, for the uſe of the PERSIAN army, thought proper to take them into their ſervice; and from that time they ſent only a few veſſels to PERSIA, under the authority of the imperial flag, that they might be priviledged from any arreſts or exactions on the part of the PERSIANS. But ſince NADIR's death, and the abandoning of the enterprize of building PERSIAN ſhips in the EUROPEAN manner, the RUSSIAN veſſels have been again reſtored to the merchants.

Their foreign trade conſiſts in red leather, linens, woollen cloths, and EUROPEAN manufactures, which they export to PERSIA, the greateſt part for the account of the ARMENIANS; in return they import ſeveral manufactures of PERSIA, particularly thoſe of CASHAN, as ſilk ſaſhes intermixed with gold, for the conſumption of the POLANDERS; wrought ſilks and ſtuffs mixed with cotton; rice, cotton, a ſmall quantity of drugs, and eſpecially raw ſilk. They alſo bring rhubarb [k], but as the government has engroſſed this article, private perſons are forbid to deal in it under penalty of death. From KHIEVA they formerly brought gold, lambſkins, cotton, and other commodities; but this trade is now diſcontinued, as I have already obſerved. The officers of the admiralty and cuſtomhouſe of ASTRACHAN have very ſmall ſalaries, which is the caſe in all other places of RUSSIA; ſo that inſtead of doing their duty to diſpatch buſineſs, they often ſeek pretences to protract it, in order to obtain the more conſiderable preſents. Upon theſe occaſions, FRENCH brandy, white wine, hats, ſtockings, ribbons, and ſuch like are acceptable.

Whilſt I was buſied in getting what informations were neceſſary, the governor invited me to a feaſt, at which there were near 100 diſhes; here I ſaw a ſingular ſpecimen of RUSSIAN intemperance, for there were above 30 people who drank to exceſs in goblets [l], of a kind of

[k] The greateſt part of this valuable branch is brought into RUSSIA by the TARTARS of YAKUTSKY, bordering on the eaſtern TARTARS belonging to CHINA; they travel through SIBERIA to TAMARA, thence to CAZAN; and from thence to MOSCO. [l] BOCALLS.

cherry

cherry brandy [m]. This feaſt was made for the birth of his grand-daughter, on which occaſion the gueſts preſented an offering, each according to his rank. This is a civil way of levying a heavy tax on the merchants, and a cuſtom, tho' not elegant, leſs abſurd than that of ſome politer countries; for here without diſguiſe or ceremony you leave one or two ducats or ſome richer preſent on the lady's bed, who ſits up with great formality to be ſaluted.

My curioſity carried me to ſee the devotion of the INDIAN PAGANS in the little temple which they have here. Their prieſts uſe beads, incenſe, caps, proſtrations and offerings: they have alſo ſmall bells with other muſic, and raiſe their voices in ſinging with the utmoſt vehemence. The object of their adoration was a PAGOD, ugly and deformed to a degree of horror. After the ſervice was over, they preſented me ſome of the fruits which had been offered to this idol; but I thought proper to refuſe them, not without ſome melancholy reflections on the abject ſtate to which human reaſon is frequently reduced.

The TARTARS hold this image worſhip in the utmoſt abomination; they will not carry even money which has any impreſſion of man, bird, beaſt, creeping thing, or inſect, into their temples. Their devotion is in ſilence and proſtrations, except that the prieſt in an awful tone at certain times utters an invocation to the lord of nature, through the mediation of MAHOMMED. It muſt be obſerved, that the TARTARS about this city and kingdom, were formerly diſtinguiſhed under denominations different from the preſent; for theſe countries were but little known, nor are they yet ſufficiently civilized to admit of that communication, which affords an opportunity for an entire diſcovery, though the RUSSIANS have made a great progreſs in it. The NAGAY TARTARS are MAHOMMEDANS, reſembling in countenance the KHALMUCKS, but better favoured, for their eyes are not ſo ſmall; theſe and the KOOBANS are driven off to the eaſtward, and have ſeldom of late years made any inroads on the RUSSIAN frontiers.

[m] The RUSSIANS call it VISHOVEY.

For

For ſeveral miles round this city, where the ſoil will admit of cultivation, there are ſettlements of a very civil and induſtrious people of the race of the CRIM TARTARS, who are tributary to the RUSSIANS. In the ſummer they improve their land, the chief products of which are manna [m], oats, muſk, and water-melons; but they reckon that their principal treaſure conſiſts in their wives and children, with their ſheep, horſes, and cattle. When any of their daughters become marriageable, they cover her tent with white linnen, and put a painted cloth on the top, which is uſually tied with red ſtrings: they have alſo a painted waggon on the ſide of the tent; and this is to be her marriage portion. Thoſe who deſign to marry obſerve this ſignal, and the girl is generally given to him who offers the father the moſt valuable preſent. Theſe people are MAHOMMEDANS, and, contrary to the practice of the KHALMUCKS, extremely nice in their burying places. They dig their graves very deep, and after lining them with bricks dried in the ſun, and whitewaſhing them in the inſide, they build a cover over them. They alſo raiſe thick walls of mud round each tomb, on the top of which are fixed one or more white flags, according to the character of the deceaſed.

I had ſpent fifteen days here in expectation of the arrival of captain WOODROOFE from GHILAN, and obſerving that the ſeaſon was far advanced, I determined, ſo ſoon as my caravan ſhould come down the VOLGA, to embark in a RUSSIAN veſſel; but the 4th of November I received the joyful news of WOODROOFE's arrival at YERKIE [n] with 100 bales of raw ſilk.

The reader muſt have obſerved, by the conferences I had with the governor of this place, how jealous the RUSSIANS were of Mr. ELTON. ARAPOFF the RUSSIAN conſul in PERSIA, now gave intelligence that this gentleman had been at BALKHAN on the eaſt coaſt of the CASPIAN, where he had reduced a province, and brought the chiefs of it priſon-

[m] Seed ſo called. [n] The mouth of the VOLGA.

ers to GHILAN; and that WOODROOFE's ſhip had been been employed in this enterprize; concluding that ſhe ought not to be permitted to return to PERSIA. The real account of this matter, which captain WOODROOFE gave me ſoon after, was far from being ſatisfactory, and proved that ELTON was too deeply engaged in the affairs of the crown of PERSIA. Of this the reader will judge from the following abſtract of WOODROOFE's journal, relating to his voyage to BALKHAN.

CHAP. XX.

Captain WOODROOFE's *voyage to* BALKHAN, *on the eaſt coaſt of the* CASPIAN *ſea, under the direction of Mr.* JOHN ELTON, *by order of* NADIR SHAH.

" JUNE the 24th, 1743, the SHAH's orders were ſignified to me by " captain ELTON, to ſurvey the ſouth eaſt part of the CASPIAN, on " which expedition the captain was to go himſelf. July the 21ſt we " weighed anchor and ſet ſail for ENZELLEE, with orders to ſtop in LAN- " GAROOD road. As this was a new navigation, to which moſt of the " merchants in GHILAN were ſtrangers, I could procure no other freight, " than a ſmall quantity of goods from captain ELTON, with which he in- " tended to try the market of ASTRABAD.

" July the 24th we anchored in LANGAROOD road, where Mr. ELTON " embarked. I was then hardly recovered of a fever, with which I had " been long afflicted. The 31ſt at noon we weighed, and the 5th of " Auguſt anchored about two miles to the northward of the inlet into " ASTRABAD bay. The next day I went in the long-boat to examine " the entrance, and found a very good channel over the bar, and a freſh " water river running into it from the eaſtward. We were about a mile " from the mouth of this river towards the cloſe of the evening, when we " ſaw three large ſandalls * coming over the bar. The day following I

* PERSIAN boats ſo called.

" armed

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" armed and manned the long-boat, in order to aſcend the river upon a " diſcovery. Nothing appeared near the ſhore but woods and marſhes, " with a ridge of mountains, which running parallel with the ſea coaſt, " extends near eaſt and weſt. At the entrance of the river there is only " five feet water, but after we had proceeded about 20 miles, we found " not leſs than 20 feet. We rowed all that day, but diſcovered no ſettle- " ment. About a quarter of a mile from the entrance the water was " freſh, but 18 miles higher we perceived it to be brackiſh, which is ow- " ing I believe to the ſea water that comes over the marſhes. The wood " is chiefly elm, willow, and birch, intermixed with vines. The river " runs about eaſt north eaſt, with a ſmall current. We ſaw a great num- " ber of wild buffalo's, hogs and deer, and likewiſe tracks, as they ap- " peared to us, of wolves and tigers.

" Night coming on, and our people being almoſt ſpent with the heat " and fatigue of the day, we reſolved to take up our lodging there, and " prepared to defend ourſelves againſt the wild beaſts: for this purpoſe " we cut down a large quantity of wood, and almoſt incloſing ourſelves, " ſet it on fire. The greateſt inconveniency we ſuffered, was from the " gnats, which ſtung us ſo intolerably, that many of our people ſtripp'd " themſelves, and lay all but their heads in the water. Not having diſ- " covered any ſettlement, about midnight we began to row down again, " and at noon we reached the bay. Continuing our courſe along ſhore, " about two miles to the ſouthward of the mouth of the river, we " heard the report of a muſket, and looking carefully towards the place " from whence it came, we ſaw about 50 men all armed, coming out " of the woods down to the ſea ſide: though we were apprehenſive they " were robbers who often infeſt this coaſt, yet we reſolved to ſtand in " for the ſhore. At our approach, perceiving that we had ſtore of fire " arms, they began to retire into the woods. We ſent therefore our PER- " SIAN ſervant on ſhore, to acquaint them that we were come on " that coaſt by the SHAH's orders, having buſineſs at ASTRABAD; and " to convince them of the truth, we offered to exchange hoſtages, and

" that if three of their people would come into our boat, three of ours " ſhould go with them; to which they conſented. Upon this I went, " attended by our interpreter and a ſervant, to the village of KONDAGA- " ZAR, which is near a mile from the water ſide, through a thick wood. " We were received by the principal people of the village with great " regard, and after refreſhing ourſelves with what the place afforded, we " returned to our boat. Among other things, we learnt that the three " ſandalls which we ſaw coming over the bar, were TURKUMAN pirates, " that they had plundered a village a little to the ſouth weſt, where they " killed eighteen men; and that theſe continual depredations obliged them " to be always upon their guard. As it was very dark, we lay all night " in the boat, but the next day we went aboard our ſhip, weighed and " came to anchor in KONDAGAZAR road in 2 ½ fathom water, in ſtiff " muddy ground.

" Auguſt the 11th. I went on ſhore with letters from captain ELTON " for the governor of ASTRABAD, in which he deſired that, as he was " about the SHAH's affairs, he might be provided with horſes to carry him " to the city. At my return we landed our little cargo; not without " ſome difficulty, the ſhore being flat and low. Whilſt we lay here, " the villagers ſhewed us great civilities, and conſtantly ſent us proviſions " of every ſort in abundance. The 13th. Several of the principal inhabi- " tants came on board, and acquainted captain ELTON, that the governor " had ſent horſes and ſervants to conduct him to ASTRABAD; upon " which he immediately went on ſhore. After ſpending ſeveral days in " ſurveying this bay, and taking landſkips of the coaſt; NASEER AGA, an " officer in the SHAH's ſervice, arrived from the camp, with orders to take " four of the OGURTJOYS* who had left their country, and put them- " ſelves under PERSIAN protection, to ſerve us as pilots, as they were " well acquainted with the eaſtern coaſt. He was likewiſe commiſſioned " to take a ſufficient number of ſoldiers under his command, with di-

* Inhabitants of the iſlands on the eaſtern coaſt.

" rections

" rections to look for a proper place to build a garriſon, in order to awe " the OGURTJOY pirates, and prevent their excurſions.

" The 31ſt of Auguſt. Captain ELTON and NASEER AGA, with 18 " ſoldiers and four pilots came on board; and the next day we weighed. " We arrived the 8th of September at the ſouth end of IDAK, the weſ- " termoſt of the OGURTJOY iſlands, and coaſted the eaſt ſide of it; " continuing our ſurvey for four days. It is a long ſandy iſland, which " ſtretches itſelf about north and ſouth. Near it is DEVERISH a barren " iſland, which extends itſelf to north eaſt and ſouth weſt. The pilots " affirmed this to have been formerly a high land; but now it is low, " which we imputed to the riſing of the water. Between theſe two iſlands " is a very good channel three fathoms deep, which extends to the north- " ward. IDAK has two wells of freſh water, and is inhabited by eight " or ten families, who have a few ſheep and goats. The ſoil produces " a coarſe ſort of grape, melons, cucumbers, carrots, onions, &c. The " inhabitants, for want of harbours, having no boats, borrow them of " their neighbours in the iſland of NAPHTONIA [t].

" September the 14th. We weighed and came in cloſe under the eaſt " ſide of NAPHTONIA. The coaſt is difficult of acceſs, the land being " very high; it extends itſelf ſix or eight leagues north and ſouth, and " contains about 36 families, who have 28 large boats with ſeveral wells " of NAPTHA [u]. The harbour is on the eaſt ſide of the iſland: to the " ſouthward there are four ſmall iſles, between all which, by the relation " of our pilot a native of the place, there is full 10 feet water; as there " is likewiſe up a large bay to the eaſtward of them, almoſt as far as " BALKHAN hill. NAPHTONIA has plenty of ſheep, wild goats, ca- " mels, and aſſes, with exceeding good water; the latter is a great ad- " vantage to them, for all the ſprings along this coaſt, except here, and " on IDAK, are ſalt or brackiſh. The ſoil is fruitful, affording all man-

[t] So called by the RUSSIANS; the PERSIANS call it CHERRICAN. [u] This is commonly underſtood to be a ſpecies of bitumen; it is of the nature of oil, of a very dark grey colour, and ſulphureous ſmell.

" ner

" ner of garden-ſtuff. There is an old moſque, to which the inhabi-
" tants come to worſhip. Theſe people ſubſiſt entirely by piracy, mak-
" ing continual depredations on the neighbouring parts of PERSIA.

" To remedy this evil, NADIR SHAH ſome years ſince offered to for-
" give all that was paſt, and to receive them into his favour, if they
" would come and ſettle about ASTRABAD bay, where they might have
" lands and ſell their NAPTHA to the inhabitants of that quarter. This
" they accepted, and carried on a briſk trade for about two years, ſelling
" their NAPTHA to the PERSIANS, TURKUMANS, and roving OUSBEGS,
" and purchaſing proviſions to ſupply the inhabitants of the iſlands. But
" having had an opportunity of collecting a number of boats, they grew
" tired of this way of living, and returned to their trade of piracy; ſo
" that BALKHAN became a general rendezvous of robbers. NADIR SHAH
" being at that time engaged in his expedition againſt the MOGHOL, poſt-
" poned the reduction of theſe people till his return. But upon enquiry
" he now found it attended with great difficulty, for the place is almoſt
" inacceſſible by land, and the country ſo wild and barren, that none
" but thoſe hardy people the TURKUMANS can live in it. Beſides, in
" ſummer there is no freſh water along the coaſt, except one well; and
" in winter the deſert is exceeding cold.

" September the 15th. We weighed and ran through a channel not
" wider than half a cable's length, between the eaſt end of DEVERISH
" and NAPHTONIA, and ſtood away along the north end of the latter.
" This channel is ſaid to have been fordable about 18 years ago, but now
" it has every where 10 or 12 feet water. To the eaſtward we ſaw 14
" large boats, which rowed towards us for ſome time, and then hoiſt-
" ing their ſails ran round a bank of ſand to the eaſt ſide of NAPHTO-
" NIA; where they have a town with a pretty good harbour. As it was
" a calm we could not follow them, and a ſtrong current ſetting out of
" the bay we were obliged to anchor in ſeven fathom water. The
" next day having a weſterly breeze we weighed, and ran up the ſide
" of the iſland DARGAN, which forms the ſouth part of the bay, and

" extends

" extends near eaſt and weſt. There is ſome riſing ground on it, but " no inhabitants, the land being barren and ſandy. Notwithſtanding " there is no water on this iſland, yet, by report, it abounds in wild " goats and deer, which, as the PERSIANS generally ſay, require no wa- " ter, but ſubſiſt on the heavy dews that conſtantly fall in thoſe parts. " We continued ſounding, and got up to a ſmall iſland on the ſouth " ſide of the bay, called DAGADAW, where we anchored in two fa- " thom water.

" The day following we went with the long-boat to ſurvey the iſland, " deſigning alſo to go on ſhore on the main land for freſh water. Our " pilot carried us to two ſprings, where there were many tracks of ca- " mels and ſheep. The water was brackiſh; for as all the land on this " ſide the CASPIAN is impregnated with ſalt, ſo are the ſprings, except " two at the foot of BALKHAN mountain; and yet the TURKUMANS " and their cattle drink of it. I was informed, that it is now 100 years " ſince the OXUS emptied itſelf into the upper end of this bay. As this " river was often dried up in many places in the heat of the ſummer, " the TURKUMANS imagined, that by ſtopping the mouth of it they " could preſerve it above. But the contrary fell out, for the water hav- " ing no paſſage to clear away the ſand, which was conſtantly blown off " the deſert into this river, it is filled up, and ſcarce any veſtiges of it " are now remaining near the CASPIAN ſea.

" Round DAGADAW there is full two fathom water, which is con- " ſtantly ſmooth and clear. Our pilots informed us that there is a great " ſcarcity of fiſh, for which reaſon the inhabitants keep 10 fiſhing " boats in a bay about half a day's journey to the northward, which " the PERSIANS call OBB MAYSEY [r]. Here they catch plenty of fiſh " not only for their own uſe, but likewiſe for ſale to the TURKUMANS " and roving TARTARS. The RUSSIANS pretend there is a whirlpool in " this bay; but this is denied by the TURKUMANS, who affirm they fiſh

[r] Or fiſhing water.

" all

" all over it. In all parts of it there is at leaſt eight fathom water; but " the entrance is very narrow.

" September the 18th. As we continued ſounding up the bay, we " found the water grew ſhallow; the deepeſt is cloſe along the iſland " DARGAN, which runs up near the foot of the mountain of BALK- " HAN, between which and the iſland there is a little channel of five " feet water. Rowing acroſs the bay we ſaw numbers of people, " who upon our approaching towards the iſland, made ſignals, " by throwing up ſand in the air, which at a diſtance appeared like " ſmoke. They began their ſignals at the water ſide, and were anſwered " quite to the eaſternmoſt end. When we were arrived at the foot of " the mountain, we ſaw 14 boats at anchor to the ſouthward of DAR- " GAN, where there is a wide bay that extends into the CASPIAN. Our " pilot informed us, that at the foot of the mountain there is five feet " water, which deepens gradually to the weſtward into 10 feet; and this " is the ſounding through all the paſſages between NAPHTONIA and the " iſlands to the ſouthward. This day we weighed, and ran up into nine " feet water, and moored the ſhip near the foot of the mountain.

" Here captain ELTON and NASEER AGA went in ſearch of a conve- " nient ſpot, on which they might build a fort. They had taken with " them on ſhore the PERSIAN ſoldiers, a pilot, and four ſailors, with " arms and ammunition ſufficient to make a defence againſt thoſe TAR- " TARS, in caſe of an attack. Soon after they put off, we ſaw the 14 " boats ſteering to the weſtward, but could not perceive any body up- " on the iſland.

" September the 22d. Our people returned from their ſurvey, and " reported, that when they had got up to BALKHAN they found only " one man on the coaſt, whom the TARTARS had commiſſioned to en- " quire after us. Upon our firſt approaching NAPHTONIA, the inhabi- " tants imagined we were driven in there by diſtreſs, for which reaſon " they manned all their boats with deſign to cut us off. But ob-

" ſerving

" ſerving that we beat the drum and fired the morning gun, and ſeeing " us run ſo readily through the narrow paſſage between DEVERISH and " NAPHTONIA, they concluded we were ſent by the SHAH to deſtroy " them; upon which they made all haſte back to ſave their families and " cattle. The former they conveyed in boats to BALKHAN, with an " intent to alarm the TARTARS in that neighbourhood; but they tranſport- " ed their cattle, conſiſting of camels, ſheep, and aſſes, to DARGAN, " together with two women ſlaves, and two of their own men, to " whom they gave inſtructions to drive them to the ſouth eaſt part of " the iſland. But ſeeing us come up the bay ſo cloſe after them, they " went round in order to take in their cattle again, leſt we ſhould inter- " cept them This precaution however proved quite fruitleſs from an- " other cauſe; for, to their great ſurprize, they found that moſt of them " were already deſtroyed by wild beaſts. One of the ſlaves was alſo kil- " led: the other being greatly diſtreſſed for want of water, and not uſed " to ſuch hardſhips, expired in a few hours; ſo that only the two men " and a few camels were ſaved. They ſailed then to the ſouthward, " while the TURKUMANS and ſeveral OUSBEG TARTARS who frequent " this neighbourhood, fled up into the mountain of BALKHAN.

" Theſe pirates were poſſeſſed of 17 boats more, which were then on " a cruiſe on the coaſt of MAZANDERAN and ASTRABAD. 'Tis their " cuſtom to ſend only half of their boats out at a time, for fear of a viſit " from the SHAH's forces, or leſt they ſhould loſe a prize by ſuffering " any veſſel to eſcape, that might be driven in here by diſtreſs. Whenever " this happens, they take all that is uſeful out of her, then ſet her on " fire, and either kill the ſailors, or ſell them as ſlaves to the OUSBEG " TARTARS.

" Captain ELTON having received this information proceeded in his " ſurvey, in order to be ſatisfied if there was any poſſibility of executing " the SHAH's project. This prince had been informed, that there was " plenty of freſh water in thoſe parts; but upon examination it was found " that the ſprings were overflowed with ſalt water. There was another " ſpring indeed a mile and a half higher up, but as it was very ſmall

" and at ſuch a diſtance, it would not anſwer the purpoſe. The iſland of " DAGADAW was judged the ſafeſt place for the garriſon, as the maga- " zines would be there moſt ſecure from any ſurprize by land on the " part of the TARTARS. With regard to freſh water, captain ELTON " propoſed to provide a number of boats, and to bring it from NAPHTONIA; " which was the more feaſible, as the navigation between the two iſlands " is extremely ſafe.

" September the 28th. As I had a voyage now depending from GHI- " LAN to RUSSIA, there was not time ſufficient to make any farther diſ- " covery. There was only half a hogſhead of freſh water on board, " and to go on ſhore on NAPHTONIA would have occaſioned too great a " delay. We therefore weighed for FARABAD, where we landed our " paſſengers the 30th of September; and after getting freſh water we pro- " ceeded for ENZELLEE."

From this account of captain WOODROOFE, it ſeems that NADIR with his uſual ſagacity foreſaw a rebellion from that ſide of TURKUMANIA, which induced him to employ his new ſervant ELTON; his intent being to ſend a fleet to BALKHAN with proviſions, in order to build a fort and keep a garriſon in that place, to awe the TURKUMAN TARTARS. This ſtep could not but give great offence to the RUSSIANS, becauſe their barrier would become ſo much the weaker, and the PERSIANS might the more eaſily invade RUSSIA on that ſide, which had been always conſidered as impracticable.

CHAP. XXI.

The Author continues his voyage down the VOLGA *to the mouth of the* CASPIAN. *A brief account of the* KHALMUCK *ſettlements; and of the river* VOLGA. *The method of curing* CAVIARE.

NOVEMBER the 8th. We left ASTRACHAN under convoy of the governor's barge with 12 granadiers. It has been already obſerved, that this old gentleman had been greatly inſtrumental in bringing the

TARTARS

TARTARS to a peaceable ſubjection to the RUSSIAN government: for this purpoſe he had taken all the large boats from the KHALMUCKS; ſo that here, as in other places, they were obliged to fiſh in ſmall canoes. At night we ſlept within piſtol-ſhot of a KHALMUCK ſettlement. The habitations of theſe people are round tents, which they call KHABITKA's, raiſed with canes in the form of a cone, and covered with WILOCKS [f]. Theſe tents are of 10, and ſome of 15 yards in circumference, and about 12 feet high; they make their fires in the center of the tent, and the ſmoke iſſues from the top, which is prepared for that purpoſe.

Theſe people are miſerably poor, ſubſiſting on fiſh which they take in the VOLGA; they dry in the ſummer their winter's proviſion. They prefer to live on the banks, where flags and ruſhes are grown to a great height, theſe being ſome defence againſt the rigors of the cold ſeaſon. There are ſeldom ſeen above 7 or 8 tents in a place, which contain 30 or 40 perſons, who live in diſtinct families under one whom they chuſe as their chief. Beſides theſe, there are other KHALMUCKS, who travel to the ſouth when the winter comes on, and return northward in the heat of the ſummer.

It is eaſy to conceive how murders and robberies frequently happen in theſe parts. I gave the ſtricteſt orders for a regular watch of two men under arms during the night; but I more than once found them faſt aſleep. As we advanced within 30 werſts of the mouth of the VOLGA, we deſcried a great number of ſmall iſlands; the whole ſcene appearing wild and inhoſpitable. We were obliged to ſtop at SADLISTOVA a little iſland, where reſides the officer who gives clearances to paſſengers.

Being happily arrived at YERKIE, we embarked in the BRITISH ſhip EMPRESS of RUSSIA, much delighted to find ourſelves in a veſſel of good oak, regularly built, well fitted, and probably the only complete ſhip which till that time had appeared on the CASPIAN. It was no leſs a pleaſure to ſee the ENGLISH flag hoiſted, and ſome ſatisfaction to receive

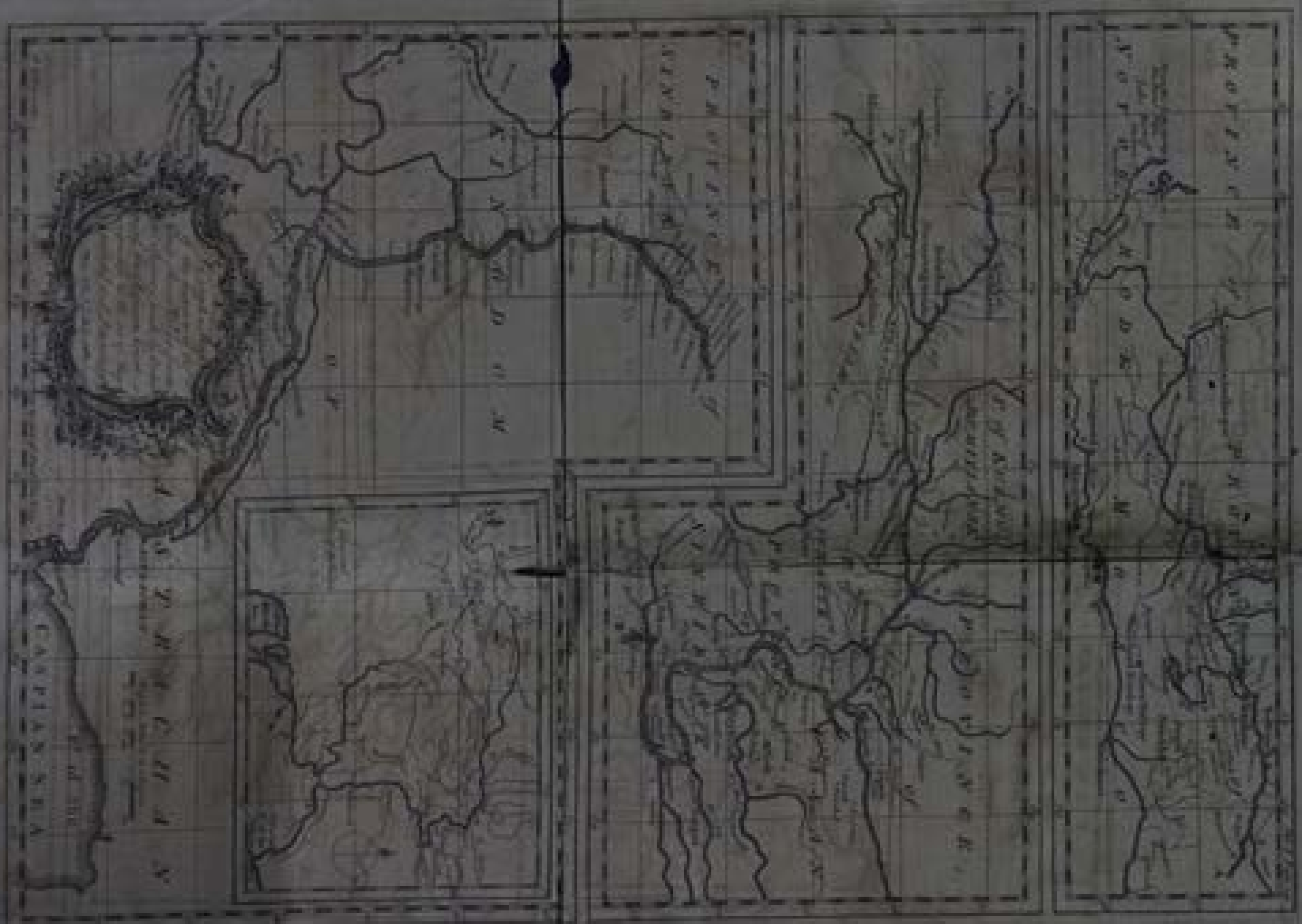
[f] This is a very thick felt of camel's hair, which keeps out the weather extremely well.

thoſe common marks of eſteem which maſters of ſhips uſually pay their merchants when they have any guns.

Though I have in ſeveral parts of this work made occaſional mention of the VOLGA, yet a river of ſuch conſideration deſerves a more particular attention; and I think no place ſo proper as this, being now about to take my leave of it. This river was antiently called the RHA, and is reputed for extent and depth one of the nobleſt in the world. It derives its ſource from the lake FERNOFF in the province of RESKOFF, runing, according to general computation, near 4500 werſts[1] before it empties itſelf into the CASPIAN ſea. It takes in the river TWERSA which comes from TWERE, the MOSCWA from MOSCO, the OCCA from COLUMNA, the KAMA which divides the NAGAY and KOOBAN TARTARS, the SAMAR at SAMARA, and many others. It is of the utmoſt utility to the greateſt part of the vaſt empire of RUSSIA, not only with regard to commerce, but as it has been a means of reducing the different tribes of TARTARS who frequent its borders. The immenſe quantities of water it receives from other rivers, and from the many hilly countries from whence deſcend great torrents, particularly when the ſnow melts in the ſpring, are the cauſe of its ſwelling at different times and places. It begins uſually to riſe in March, and increaſes in April and May, continuing above its uſual mark, till the end of June; and then it decreaſes very faſt. There is often another riſe in September by autumnal rains; but this is not ſo conſtant, nor near ſo conſiderable. It varies in different places; at ASTRACHAN it is only ſeven or eight feet, unleſs the ſoutherly winds blow in the water at the ſame time from the CASPIAN. About ZARITZEN, which is above 400 werſts higher, I ſaw a mark at about 20 feet, as already mentioned; and at CASAN, which is 1250 werſts yet higher, the riſe is ſaid to be much greater. As there are ſo many different climates in the courſe of this river, the ice breaks up at different times; as at ASTRACHAN about the end of February, and at CASAN generally a month later. Here the banks alter almoſt every year, partly by the force of the current, and partly by the ſands which are blown into the river from

[1] 3000 ENGLISH miles.

the



the adjacent country. The danger ariſing from theſe ſhifting banks is not very great; but they create delays. The common courſe of the ſtream can hardly be reckoned above a mile an hour, but in the time of the floods it is generally three miles.

The navigation is very difficult for veſſels drawing above five feet water, except in the flood times, when the largeſt flat bottomed veſſels find ſufficient water. I have ſeen a veſſel afloat in the month of October, ſaid to have 600 tuns of ſalt and fiſh aboard; and in ſome ſeaſons they have barks of greater burthen. The trade from many parts is great and extenſive, but from no place more conſiderable than from YARISLAW and CASAN. The ſailors who navigate this river, are remarkable for their dexterity in warping. They have three boats to carry out the warps, which they take in forward; and at the ſame time they coil the warp from the ſtern into the boat, while the other two boats are a-head laying freſh warps; for as ſoon as they have run out one, the end of the other is ready. Theſe veſſels ſometimes carry from 150 to 200 men, and as their bigneſs prevents their ſailing, except the wind be very fair, they warp 30 ENGLISH miles in a day againſt the ſtream, which, as we have already obſerved, is ſometimes very rapid. Beſides the vaſt abundance of fiſh taken in this river, and ſent either ſalted or frozen to diſtant parts of the RUSSIAN empire, there is a conſiderable commerce carried on in CAVIARE [y].

The method of preparing this commodity is to take away the ſtringy part, then to mix it with ſalt well cleaned and made into brine; and when drained from the oily parts and preſſed, it becomes of ſuch a conſiſtency as to keep two or three years. The grain is of a darkiſh grey colour, almoſt as big as a pepper corn, and cuts tranſparent. In the winter it is ſent freſh to all parts of the empire, and is much eſteemed by the natives as well as foreigners, being well known to partake of the nature of oyſters. There is alſo a large quantity made for exportation, which is conſumed in ITALY and by the chriſtians in the LEVANT. The ARMENIANS have the ſkill of preparing it beſt, and uſually make above 6000 poods [z] every year. In 1749 they brought 20,000 poods to market.

[y] Roe of ſturgeon and belluga, the RUSSIANS call it IECRA. [z] About 100 tuns.

Having

Having thus given a ſhort account of the VOLGA, and being ready to launch out into the CASPIAN, I think it will be proper to introduce a more particular deſcription of that ſea, beſides what has been already given concerning BALKHAN. But as this is a province which properly belongs to a ſeaman, I muſt refer my reader to the following extracts of captain WOODROOFE's journal, from his firſt entering on that navigation.

CHAP. XXII.

Extracts of captain WOODROOFE's *journal from his ſetting out from* ASTRACHAN *in June* 1742, *on his firſt voyage.*

" JUNE the 20th, 1742. Upon our entrance into the CASPIAN " we met with hard gales of ſoutherly winds attended with a very " hollow ſea, and ſoon loſt our great launch from the ſtern. The day " following we hauled up to the eaſtward, on account of the rocks " lying between SWETOI and ZELOI iſlands; ſome of theſe run a " mile to the eaſtward, and there is a very large one two miles eaſt " of SWETOI. Here we ſaw ſeveral breakers, which we took to be " rocks under water. The ſafeſt way is to avoid ZELOI, the land being " low and the weather generally hazy; and it is not diſcernible above " two leagues even in clear weather.

" June the 27th. For ſeveral days we had light weſterly and ſouth " weſt winds with a ſtrong current, which fruſtrated our endeavours to " reach ENZELLEE. Our water running low we made the ſouth ſhore, " and came to an anchor in 10 fathom, when we diſcovered a town " from the maſt-head. The ſhore for many miles has the appearance " of a very pleaſant and fertile country, agreeably checkered with groves, " paſtures, and arable lands. At the extent of this landſkip is a ridge of " high mountains, extending from eaſt to weſt, behind which the peek

" DEMONA,

" DEMOAN riſes far above the reſt. We immediately hoiſted out our " boat, and having rowed three leagues to the eaſtward, we landed near the " town of MESCHEDIZAR.

" Here an hundred men under arms preſented themſelves, and without " any ceremony dragged our boat to ſhore, ſignifying that we were " their priſoners. Among this troop there were three who had the " appearance of officers, but ſeemed to preſerve no kind of diſci- " pline. They ſtood for near an hour at bay, reſting on their arms, " and laughing very loud. At length a perſon came whom they treat- " ed with great deference; he was attended by ſeveral others of good " figure, and among the reſt by a RUSSIAN interpreter.

" This perſon demanded in very civil terms who I was, and what I " wanted. I informed him that I had a cargo of goods for the ENGLISH " factory at RESHD, in whoſe ſervice I was employed; that my ſhip was " at anchor three leagues to the eaſtward, and that contrary winds and " want of water had occaſioned my coming on ſhore. He replied, that " the caſe might poſſibly be as I repreſented it, but as the coaſt was very " much expoſed to the depredations of pirates, he muſt be ſatisfied in a " circumſtance which could not but appear ſuſpicious; adding, that to " be convinced of our innocence, he would diſpatch a meſſenger to " inquire after our veſſel. In the mean time he deſired me to ſit down " by him on the ſand, aſſuring me that I had nothing to fear. He " invited me alſo to ſup with him, and at my requeſt ordered a pro- " per guard over the boat, with proviſions for the ſailors. We had " hardly reached his houſe when the ſervant arrived with the news of " the ſhip, with which he was very well pleaſed. When we had fi- " niſhed our repaſt, he made an apology for what had happened, inform- " ing me that MAHOMMED KHAN the governor of the province, had " iſſued out orders to all the villages along the ſea coaſt, to detain every " ſtrange boat that ſhould come on ſhore, and ſend the commander of " it to him; for which reaſon I muſt go with him the next day to

" BAL-

" BALFRUSH, the metropolis of this province. Early in the morning " horſes were brought to the door, and three ſervants attended us on " foot to BALFRUSH. The governor had heard of my arrival, and " being well acquainted with our factory in RESHD, entertained me with " a very handſome dinner, and gave me a paſſport to procure aſſiſtance " in all other parts of that coaſt ſubject to his authority. As a further " proof of his good will, he ordered the calentar to furniſh us with " water from certain choice ſprings, and with all the proviſions I wanted; " and if I had no PERSIAN money, he deſired him to take my bills " upon the factors at RESHD. After theſe civilities he wiſhed me a good " voyage, and I took my leave.

" Between this city and MESCHEDIZAR, which are diſtant from each " other about 12 miles, is a pleaſant country; the people are well " limbed, robuſt, and very active, particularly in wreſtling, running, and " other ſuch exerciſes. At MESCHEDIZAR there is a little market for " fruit, ſuch as muſk and water-melons, apples, pears, and plumbs, very " fine raiſins, rice, brown and loaf ſugar, which they make here and " at BALFRUSH. The loaf ſugar is bad, and when diſſolved produces a " greaſy ſcum; but the raw brown ſugar, though of a very dark colour, " is of a firm grain and not diſagreeable. The inhabitants uſe a liquid " made from the juice of grapes *, with which they ſweeten their water " and rice. They have alſo comfits of lemon peel and lime; like- " wiſe ginger, citrons and almonds, chiefly candied and preſerved " with brown ſugar. Proviſions were ſo cheap that a good ſheep " coſt only about four ſhillings; they have cheeſe and butter, but " the firſt is very bad, and the laſt of too ſweet a flavour. There is " a ſmall river that runs into the ſea, by which they carry on a " trade to GHILAN, chiefly conſiſting of raw cotton, callicoes, and " earthen ware; theſe goods are brought to their market by the peaſants " on aſſes and cows, and in bad weather are carried the ſame way into " GHILAN, but in ſummer they are conveyed by water in flat bottomed " veſſels. The BEACH of the ſea is driven up in this place to a great

* Called DUSHAB.

" height,

" height; and behind it are lakes of ſtagnant, brackiſh water, and marſhy
" woody land. The ſurf which had hindered our getting off, being
" now abated, we launched our boat from the ſhore, with her loading
" of freſh water, which came aboard very ſeaſonably. After our return
" from MESCHEDIZAR we diſcovered FINICANAR, another ſmall village
" near the ſea ſide; here we put aſhore, and filled our caſks with excel-
" lent water, having firſt produced the certificate which MAHOMMED
" KHAN had given us, to which the villagers paid ſo much regard, as to
" refuſe the money we offered them for their aſſiſtance. This village
" is ſituated in the midſt of a wood, on a little river which former-
" ly diſcharged itſelf into the ſea, but now the mouth of it is ſtop-
" ped up; upon which occaſion they tell a remarkable ſtory. About
" eight years ago a great party of RUSSIAN and TURKUMAN pirates hav-
" ing ſtolen a large veſſel from the entrance of the VOLGA, put into
" this river with a deſign to plunder all the villages upon it. They had
" with them ſix pieces of ſmall cannon, and a conſiderable quantity of
" ammunition, intending to fortify themſelves here, and eſtabliſh a ren-
" dezvous. The inhabitants having ſuſpicion of their intentions, abandon-
" ed FINICANAR, and alarming their neighbours came down undiſcovered,
" and filled up the mouth of the river with trees and ſand; men, wo-
" men and children exerting themſelves in this common danger. The
" pirates were plundering at diſcretion, fearleſs of ſurprize; when the PER-
" SIAN peaſants muſtering all their ſtrength attacked them: ſome of the
" pirates were killed, others taken, and the reſt made the beſt of their way
" down the river, expecting to recover their veſſel; but they ſoon found
" their miſtake, and nothing remained but to ſurrender themſelves. The
" RUSSIANS were pardoned upon entering into the PERSIAN ſervice; but
" the TURKUMANS, being old offenders, were cut to pieces. The veſſel
" ſtill lies at the mouth of the river, and the dam is become a firm
" beach, which defends the brave cottagers from the like invaſion, tho'
" it has ruined their river.

CHAP. XXIII.

Captain WOODROOFE's *journal continued, from July* 1742 *to June* 1743, *with the ſeveral remarkable occurrences till his voyage to* BALKHAN.

" THE 5th of July we departed from FINICANAR for GHILAN, but " our voyage was much retarded by light weſterly breezes, and a " ſtrong current. We found the ſoundings along the coaſt very gradual " and regular. The wind continuing contrary we put into LANGAROOD " bay. In a cove * to the weſtward we diſcovered a veſſel at anchor; up- " on which we ran into ſeven fathom water, came to an anchor, and diſ- " patched our letters to RESHD.

" The 13th. A light breeze ſpringing up at eaſt ſouth eaſt, we " weighed, and the next day came to an anchor in ENZELLEE road. A " ſcant of water on the bar obliged us to unload our cargo, which was " carried to PERIBAZAR in PERSIAN boats, and from thence by land to " RESHD. There is a river running from PERIBAZAR to RESHD, but it is " ſo drained by the multiplicity of channels to convey water to their rice " grounds, as renders it unnavigable. This is an open road, intirely expoſed " to the north. The winds being light and veerable favoured us very much, " but a hollow northern ſwell, with a ſtrong eaſtern current, rendered it " both diſagreeable and dangerous. The inlet from ENZELLEE road to EN- " ZELLEE † for a mile and half has the appearance of a river, but afterwards " it opens into a lake of about three leagues extent, where the RUSSIAN veſ- " ſels lay; and from whence a narrow river runs about two miles further " to PERIBAZAR: the courſe acroſs the lake is ſouth eaſt by ſouth half " ſouth. The 28th. Our cargo being all landed, we were taken into " the ſervice of the PERSIAN government to carry rice to DERBEND for " the army, where the SHAH was then in perſon, endeavouring to re- " duce the LESGEE TARTARS.

" While we were taking in our lading from the magazine at PERI- " BAZAR, I made ſome obſervations on the PERSIAN manner of ſhip build-

* LANGAROOD cove. † A ſmall village on the weſt point of the land.

" ing.

" ing. The major part of their veſſels are built by RUSSIAN deſerters, who " meet with encouragement from the PERSIANS. They are made of elm, " which abounds in this province; their ſails are of cotton, their cables " of flax, and ſome, of the bark of trees. In fair weather they hoiſt a " large ſquare ſail, two parts laced together; and when it blows a little " they come to anchor cloſe to ſhore, not chuſing to be farther out than " two fathoms water. If it blows hard they let their veſſel run with " her broad ſide aſhore, and endeavour to keep her there moor'd by the " ſtumps of trees, which are found in abundance on this coaſt. In order " to heave them off again, they carry ſpars, but they are often obliged " to unload them, and are frequently wrecked. To ſupply their want " of anchors, they uſe crooked pieces of iron, with ſtones tied to them. " There are ſome larger veſſels built after the antient manner, of 30 " or 40 tuns, which are called ſandalls; their beams are dovetail'd through " the ſide in tiers, and a row in every three feet; by which means theſe " veſſels are divided into partitions, which are made tight, ſo as to con- " fine any leak, and prevent its communication with the reſt of the ſhip. " They are moſtly caulked with cotton, the inſide as well as the out; the " ſeams are filled as full as poſſible when they are firſt built; and to ſe- " cure them the more effectually, they cover them with canvaſs well tar- " red, and lay battins over it every three or four inches, ſtapling them " faſt with a kind of crooked nail. This method keeps them dry dur- " ing four or five years, after which they are generally broke up as uſeleſs. " Their KIRJIEMS [1] are in the greateſt uſe and eſteem, though they ſel- " dom venture with any of them farther than MESCHEDIZAR for raw cot- " ton, oats, and earthen ware; or weſtward to BAKU, where they carry " rice, and return with rock ſalt, ſaffron, and NAPTHA.

" Auguſt the 29th. The RUSSIAN conſul at RESHD appeared very jea- " lous, and obliged our RUSSIAN ſeamen to ſign papers without their

[1] Small boats ſo called.

" knowing the contents. This morning when we weighed for DERBEND, " we ſaw a RUSSIAN veſſel ſtranded. We arrived there in 12 days, but " a great ſurf on the beach detained us on board till the 14th of Sep- " tember; we then went on ſhore to make a report of our cargo, and were " ordered by HUSSEIN ALI BEG the chief receiver of proviſions, to take " all favourable opportunities to land it. The RUSSIAN and ARMENIAN " merchants were much offended at our ſhips being employed by the " PERSIANS, as it interfered with their intereſt; and the conſul threatened " to complain of our conduct to the court of RUSSIA.

" September the 17th. The ſurf on the beach decreaſing, I went on " ſhore in ſearch of a proper place to land the cargo. The receiver " HUSSEIN ALI BEG, with the RUSSIAN ſecretary, the interpreter, and ſe- " veral perſons of diſtinction on horſeback, were juſt then arrived at the " water ſide. A running footman approached, and made ſigns to me to " come to his maſter. I imagined he had ſome orders to communicate " with relation to our lading, but, to my infinite ſurprize, I no ſooner " drew near than they began to beat me with ſticks in a moſt unmerci- " ful manner, without alledging the leaſt reaſon for ſuch behaviour. Af- " ter they had knocked me down upon the beach, a fellow ſat on my " head, ſqueezing my face into the ſand, ſo that I was almoſt ſuffocated, " whilſt two men continued to beat me on the back, till I was quite " deprived of ſenſe and motion. They then ſuffered one of our men to " carry me off, not without two or three violent blows on the head, " which brought on a great effuſion of blood. After this act of barba- " rity, it was obſerved that the RUSSIAN interpreter made a low bow to " the receiver, who being now informed that I was not a RUSSIAN ſub- " ject, and conſcious of his temerity, rode down to our boat and begged " pardon for the injury he had done me. I was carried on board ſpitting " blood, and remained two months incapable of diſcharging my duty. " Captain ELTON who now commanded the ſhip, diſpatched his inter- " preter to the camp, to ſollicit his own affairs, and at the ſame time to " complain of my ill uſage.

" Septem-

" September the 30th. Having diſcharged our cargo we ſailed for LAN-
" GAROOD road, which we reached in nine days, and began to load a-
" gain with rice for DERBEND. After ſhipping our ſecond cargo, and being
" tolerably recovered of my bruiſes, I went to RUDIZAR, a village a-
" bout 14 miles from LANGAROOD cove, in order to victual the ſhip for
" her voyage. Here we met with very civil treatment, but whether it
" was becauſe we were chriſtians, or for ſome other reaſon, they would
" not admit us into their houſes, ſo that we were obliged to ſleep in the
" market place; however they dreſt victuals for us, and in all other re-
" ſpects were very obliging. In the evening we heard the ſound of mu-
" ſic, the occaſion of which was a wedding. The bride, the eldeſt of
" the couple, was but twelve years old, being married thus prematurely
" to prevent her being taken away without marriage.

" December the 7th. After a very bad paſſage, in which we loſt our
" beſt bower anchor, we arrived once more in DERBEND road. A great
" ſurf on the beach detained us three nights on ſhore, where we found
" every thing very naked and uncomfortable. The houſes were with-
" out beds or furniture, and fuel was ſo ſcarce as to be ſold for the
" value of three pence the pound. Here we found captain ELTON's
" interpreter returned from the camp of NADIR SHAH, who was about
" ten leagues to the north of this place. He had repreſented my ill
" treatment to ALI KOULI KHAN the king's nephew, who together with
" MUSTAPHA KHAN, the next in precedence, made a report of the af-
" fair to the SHAH. HUSSEIN ALI BEG was immediately ſent for from
" DERBEND, and deprived not only of his poſt, but likewiſe of all his
" effects, even to his cloaths; and he received moreover at the picquet
" 300 blows on his feet and back: in this deep diſgrace he was ordered
" to return to DERBEND. Here he came to me, and throwing himſelf
" on his knees, begged I would ceaſe from complaining, and as he had
" nothing left but his life, that I would not purſue him to deſtruc-
" tion. He confeſſed that he was fatally miſled by the RUSSIAN ſe-
" cretary, who under pretence of my being a ſubject of RUSSIA, and of
" having committed an offence, had deſired him to treat me in that cruel

" man-

" manner. This excuſe induced ALI KOULI KHAN to ſave his life, and " in a great meaſure turned the edge of my reſentment againſt thoſe ex- " ecrable wretches who had been the cauſe of his committing ſuch an " act of inhumanity.

" The ſucceſſor of HUSSEIN ALI BEG was AGA NABIE, a courteous " perſon, who, either through reſpect or fear, ſhewed himſelf very in- " duſtrious in his new employment, and ready to give us all the aſſiſt- " ance in his power. Before we could land our cargo, a hard gale of " wind came on at north north eaſt, which ſoon broke our ſheet anchor " and drove us near the ſhore: in this extremity we were afraid to truſt " our all to the only anchor we had left, but cutting the ſheet cable at " the windleſs, with great difficulty we wore the ſhip with the foreſail and " foreſtayſail, and cleared the breakers. We then ſtretched off to ſea, " with a double reef'd mainſail, which ſoon ſplit; but having a pretty good " offing we furled the foreſail, and lay to under a mainſtayſail. In two " days the gale abated, and the wind coming round to the ſouthward, " we returned to an anchor in the road. In our abſence two RUSSIAN " veſſels were ſtranded. Not liking ſo precarious a ſituation, we imme- " diately loaded our long-boat with rice; but unfortunately the water be- " ing lower than uſual, the boat deep laden, and the ſea running high, " ſhe ſtruck againſt a rock that lay under water, and ſtarted one of her " bottom planks. With great difficulty by the help of near 100 PER- " SIANS and RUSSIANS we got out the rice, and hauled her up on ſhore. " In the interim the interpreter returned from the camp, and informed " us that captain ELTON had received ſingular honours from NADIR SHAH. " About midnight we were attacked by a gang of LESGEE robbers; but " by the help of our arms, we repulſed them without any loſs. The next " night theſe villains made a ſecond attack upon our tents, in hopes of " the booty they had before miſſed. One of our RUSSIAN ſailors up- " on watch called to them in the TURKISH language, and receiving " no anſwer, fired at them; the reſt of our people flying to their arms, " a ſkirmiſh enſued, but no loſs was ſuſtained on our ſide. Theſe were " roving TARTARS, who had left their horſes on the outſide of the north " wall,

" wall, and crept through a hole under the baſtions. The next day " we traced them by their blood along the ſnow to a conſiderable diſ- " tance. To prevent any future attack, we acquainted the governor of " what had befallen us, who promiſed to order a patrol of fifty horſe to " guard the walls during our continuance in that place.

" January the 15th 1743. Captain ELTON returned from the camp " metamorphoſed into a compleat PERSIAN, being dreſſed in a coat of ho- " nour, a ſaſh, and a cap, which were preſented him by the SHAH. In his " turbant he wore a ſmall roll of paper containing the decree, in which " the honours granted him were expreſſed; it being the PERSIAN cuſtom " to wear the marks of the prince's favour in the moſt conſpicuous man- " ner. Mr. ELTON alſo received a preſent of five hundred crowns, and " his interpreter one hundred. As a farther proof of this monarch's " good will towards us, a ſevere piece of juſtice was executed on HUSSEIN " ALI BEG: he was brought to the water-ſide, where his noſtrils were ſlit, " and his ears cut off; in this condition he was ordered to watch under " the gallows near the ſhore, as long as we ſhould continue there.

" The RUSSIAN ſecretary was likewiſe mortified, by being obliged to " aſk pardon for his cruelty. Accordingly he diſpatched his ſervant with a " preſent of fruit and wine for captain ELTON; and at the ſame time de- " ſired to be permitted to come on board to beg forgiveneſs for the injuries " he had done us: But we ſaved him the trouble by weighing anchor " before the meſſenger could return.

" February the 1ſt. We weighed for BAKU, and a hard gale coming " on, we loſt our yawl from the ſtern. The 6th. We haul'd round ZE- " LOI iſland for BAKU bay: but the nights being dark, and the wind " blowing directly off ſhore, we were obliged to come to an anchor in 9 " fathom water, within two miles of the ſhore, and yet could not diſcern " the land, the weather being hazy. Hard gales of north eaſterly winds " drove us into 45 fathoms water, where a great ſea obliged us to cut a- " way the cable at the windleſs before we could wear the ſhip: then we " bore away for LANGAROOD, and happily weathered out the ſtorm.

" The

"The 12th. We anchored in LANGAROOD road, where we lay three "days without the bar in no ſmall danger; when a favourable wind and "ſmooth water gave us an opportunity of running into the cove. Here we "were to refit againſt the ſpring, in order to carry ſilk from RESHD to "ASTRACHAN. In the mean while I ſurveyed LANGAROOD cove and "river, and the coaſt to the northward as far as the river SEFIET ROOD, "along the bottom of the bay.

"March the 25th, We left this place, but did not reach YERKIE road till "the 18th of April; our paſſage having been obſtructed by a great drift "of ice on the RUSSIAN coaſt. Here we performed 14 days quarantain, and "then ſailed up to ASTRACHAN, where we ſaluted the governor with "ſeven guns. Whilſt I had been refitting at LANGAROOD, captain EL-"TON went to MAZANDERAN accompanied by a PERSIAN officer. At "their return they took my ſhip carpenter and detained him on ſhore; a "circumſtance which excited the jealouſy of the RUSSIANS. I delivered "a preſent to the governor conſiſting of oranges and lemons, with ſeveral "ſorts of dried fruit, and 6 KARBOYS[z] of ISPAHAN wine; all which "were immediately diſpatched to court. I received orders to careen my-"ſhip, and forthwith to return to GHILAN with the ENGLISH goods "which were arrived here. The 31ſt of May we weighed anchor and "on the 17th of June arrived in ENZELLE road, where we unloaded our "cargo. Here I found captain ELTON, who acquainted me that the "SHAH had ordered a ſurvey of the ſouth eaſt parts of the CASPIAN "ſea."

The ſurvey here alluded to by captain WOODROOFE was the diſcovery of BALKHAN, of which I have already acquainted my reader. I ſhall now proceed to give ſome account concerning the CASPIAN ſea in general, partly from my own obſervation, and partly from the relation of others who had the ſame opportunity as my ſelf, and were more accurate judges in regard to this matter.

[z] A PERSIAN meaſure.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

An account of the riſing and falling of the CASPIAN *ſea.*

WHEN the RUSSIANS firſt navigated the CASPIAN, which is ſuppoſed to have been about the year 1556, they found only 5 feet water for near 9 leagues to the ſouth and ſouth eaſt of CHETIRIE BOGORIE. PETER the GREAT in his expedition againſt PERSIA in 1722, in the ſame diſtance found only 6 feet water, ſo that he was obliged to ſend his fleet of ſmall veſſels to ſome diſtance to take in their ſtores. Near CHETIRIE BOGORIE there is now 12 foot water; here it begins to be ſalt, as in the body of the ſea, and not freſh as ſome have imagined. I never could diſcover that this ſea abounds in fiſh; though captain WOODROOFE mentions that he had ſeen a few ſturgeons off the iſland TOLEENA. As to what is recorded in ancient ſtory concerning the monſtrous fiſh of the CASPIAN, I imagine it to be fabulous. The VOLGA and the YAEIK indeed are well known to be immenſely rich in fiſh; and it is ſaid that there is great plenty of herrings, ſalmon, and ſturgeon in KISLAR river and the KURA.

At ſome diſtance from the ſhore we in vain endeavoured to find a bottom with a line of 450 fathoms. The water has riſen within 30 years very conſiderably, and made great inroads on the RUSSIAN ſide for about 20 werſts between the mouth of the VOLGA and ASTRACHAN, both on the eaſt and weſt ſide of the great channel of this river. This has rendered the adjacent country extremely marſhy. Nor has this ſea been more indulgent to the PERSIANS, for it is confidently ſaid that in the beginning of this century the land for about 8 ENGLISH miles on the ſide of LANGAROOD river was dry, and well inhabited. This I the more readily believe, as the tops of ſome houſes are yet ſeen where the water is ſeveral feet deep. The ſame thing is reported of ASTRABAD, where the inhabitants affirm that within theſe 50 years the bay was fordable by aſſes, and now there is two fathom water. Captain WOOROOFE heard the ſame alſo at BALCHAN, ſo

that it is no ways to be doubted that the great rivers VOLGA, YAIICK, IAMBA, SAMBUR, KURA, SEFIET ROOD, and others of leſs note have emptied immenſe quantities of water, which the ſun has not exhaled: and this alarms the inhabitants round the coaſt.

The RUSSIANS affirm that in the lake KARABOOGASKOY to the northward of BALKHAN, there is a ſubterraneous paſſage, which has ſucked in the boats that attempted the diſcovery; but this account is flatly denied by the OGURTJOY iſlanders, who ſerved captain WOODROOFE as pilots, and aſſured him that the deepeſt part is but 8 fathoms. The lake is almoſt round, and near 8 leagues over, and as it abounds with excellent fiſh, they conſtantly keep two boats employed, ſo that they may well be ſuppoſed to know every part of it.

There is a tradition that the waters of the CASPIAN riſe for 30 years, and for the ſucceeding 30 fall off again; but neither can this account be reconciled. It ſeems to me that the ſame law of nature, which every where elſe produces a continual change of this part of matter, by exhaling it in vapours, which form rain, hail, and ſnow, not only to refreſh the earth, but to ſupply the ſprings of rivers, muſt diſpoſe of theſe waters here in the ſame manner. It ſeems likewiſe that as this mediterranean lake is the grand reſervoir of the vaſt rivers, mountains, and tracks of land by which it is ſurrounded, it is alſo the reſervoir from which theſe tracts are watered; and from whence the rivers that fall into it are ſupplied. Doctor HALLEY, I am told, has proved by very nice experiments and calculations, that the vapour ariſing from the ſea is more than ſufficient to ſupply all the rivers that flow into it. And it is not, I think, improbable, that the reaſon why the waters of the CASPIAN are riſen higher now than in the time of PETER the GREAT, is, that there have been more moderate ſummers ſince his time than before; by which means a leſs quantity of water has been exhaled.

There are a great number of rivers and rivulets which run into this ſea, that are not laid down in the map (chap. XX.) and alſo many towns and

and villages, particularly on the weſtern coaſt, which are likewiſe not mentioned, being thought immaterial; and the more ſo as the land-chart of the coaſt of the CASPIAN, which is introduced in the beginning of the ſecond volume contains a more exact account of them, according to the preſent ſtate of the country, than perhaps any map extant, as I ſhall have occaſion to mention more fully hereafter.

PART II.

The AUTHOR's VOYAGE from ASTRACHAN to PERRSIA;

WITH

The SEVERAL ADVENTURES that befel him during his ſtay in that COUNTRY.

CHAP. XXV.

The author's voyage from ASTRACHAN *to* PERSIA. *His arrival at* LANGAROOD. *Remarks on building ſhips on the* CASPIAN. *He continues his voyage to* ASTRABAD *bay, with an intent to proceed to* MESCHED; *and writes to Mr.* ELTON *to diſſuade him from his military enterprizes.*

IT is now time to reſume my own narration, which captain WOODROOFE's journal, and the account of the CASPIAN, have ſo long interrupted. The 10th of November 1743. The 100 bales of raw ſilk were now ſent up the VOLGA from YERKIE to ASTRACHAN and I impatiently expected the arrival of my EUROPEAN caravan, which accordingly was brought aboard on the 12th. The carriers had been ſo inſolent, under the direction of a man not much higher in rank than themſelves, that he was obliged to procure ſome COSSACKS to attend him to ZARITZEN. The meaſures I had happily purſued to bring this caravan in time for the ſeaſon, proved effectual, whilſt the other which I mentioned to have ſet out a week earlier, was frozen up in the VOLGA, and not brought to market till the next ſpring.

The governor of ASTRACHAN being alarmed at ELTON's proceedings, and finding that this new trade began to grow offenſive to his court, thought proper to put captain WOODROOFE's ſhip under the ſame reſtrictions as thoſe of the RUSSIAN merchants. In order to prevent jealouſy, and com-

comply with the RUSSIAN regulations we had already given an account in ASTRACHAN of all the ſhip's ſtores; and there only we thought ourſelves accountable: but it was now demanded of me to give alſo an account of thoſe ſtores to the conſul in GHILAN, and likewiſe a written obligation, that no BRITISH ſeaman ſhould go into the SHAH's ſervice, or give any inſtructions to his ſubjects. By this means we ſhould be liable to be arreſted at the pleaſure of a RUSSIAN conſul, though out of the RUSSIAN dominions. But as things were thus circumſtanced, and as an order had been ſent down to YERKIE not to ſuffer the ſhip to depart without this obligation from me; I reſolved to ſign it: which I did however in the following terms. "With a proteſt that I will not be ac-"countable either in my perſon or eſtate, any longer than I ſhall volun-"tarily remain in PERSIA, or at ASTRACHAN; and no further than is con-"ſiſtent with the conditions of the treaty of commerce ſubſiſting between "the crowns of GREAT BRITAIN and RUSSIA; becauſe I conceive from "the contents of the ſaid treaty, that I am not ſubject or accountable to "any RUSSIAN conſul or miniſter, in any place out of the dominions of "her imperial majeſty."

I had no conception how we could carry on a trade under ſuch conditions. It was indeed our duty as merchants, to ſupport a good underſtanding with the RUSSIANS in PERSIA, as far as conſiſtent with the freedom eſſential to the ſupport of our own intereſt; but beyond this was in effect to give up our commerce. The RUSSIANS about ten years before had evacuated GHILAN, and as they were the only navigators of the CASPIAN, their merchants were jealous of our enjoying any privileges independent of the RUSSIAN juriſdiction: beſides, they had acquired great influence in GHILAN during the confuſed ſtate of affairs under NADIR's uſurpation; ſo that upon the whole it appeared very plain to me, that the BRITISH CASPIAN trade in general was entirely againſt the inclinations of the RUSSIANS.

Matters being thus accommodated with the governor of ASTRACHAN, I only waited for a fair wind, which I was the more anxious about, fearing that ſome freſh difficulty might ariſe from the alarms which ELTON's under-

undertaking had given in RUSSIA. For though I covered over the wound for the preſent, yet it was not poſſible for me to heal it; eſpecially as it broke out afreſh upon every little incident.

The 19th of November. After ſo many days expectation I concluded that the wind and water would favour us at laſt; but I had not entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion of being arreſted by the winter. We had inceſſant cold winds for ſeveral days from the north weſt, to ſuch a degree that we were at length frozen up. This was a ſevere ſtroke which I was not prepared for, but there was no remedy: I turned my thoughts therefore how to act, ſuppoſing my voyage had been prevented; for the maſter of the ſhip ſaid it was very uncertain whether we ſhould be able to get away that year; but the next day, to my great joy, the ice broke up by the riſing of the water, which at the ſame time brought a depth of 9 feet on the bar.

The 22d. We got out to ſea with a fair wind; The 29th we were becalmed about ten leagues from the ſouth weſt bottom. The ſtupendous mountains which appeared from thence ſtruck me with great ſurprize; for although they were at a great diſtance, yet their magnitude far exceeded any thing I had ever ſeen in EUROPE.

The 3d of December I arrived in LANGAROOD bay. The maſter of the ſhip informed me that Mr. ELTON was removed from RESHD to LANGAROOD, to attend the maritime affairs in which he had engaged himſelf. I ſent to acquaint him of my arrival; upon which he came on board, and conducting me a ſhore, gave me as polite a reception as the jealouſy, which it was natural for him to entertain of me, would permit. I delivered to him a pair of piſtols of exquiſite workmanſhip, mounted with gold, and ſome other curious things which he had wrote for at the deſire of ALI KOULI KHAN the SHAH's nephew: he was ſollicitous of cultivating a good correſpondence with this perſon, apprehending that he would be one day king, which really happened four years afterwards.

Mr. ELTON's habitation at LANGAROOD was about 8 ENGLISH miles from the ſhore, in the midſt of a wood ſurrounded with marſhes, where

where the roads were hardly practicable. It ſtood near the foot of a lofty mountain open only to the ſea; this intercepted the paſſage of the air, and rendered the place extremely unwholſome. As GHILAN* is generally eſteemed the ſink of PERSIA, ſo LANGAROOD is conſidered as the ſink of GHILAN. But as this was the rainy ſeaſon of the year, which rendered all parts equally moiſt, we were not ſenſible of any particular inconvenience. I ſpent ſeven days with this gentleman, during which interval we diſcourſed largely in relation to the CASPIAN trade. We had many pleaſant deſigns for the improvement of it; but in general the proſpect was gloomy.

NADIR SHAH had for ſome time formed a deſign of building ſhips on the CASPIAN; to this he was induced not only by the unſettled ſtate of his country, but alſo by a particular inclination of conquering the LESGEE TARTARS, thoſe brave mountaineers who had hitherto withſtood the numerous forces of PERSIA. He ſaw plainly that it would be impoſſible to ſupport an army in that quarter without a foreign ſupply of proviſions, which muſt neceſſarily be brought to him by ſea; and he could not be ignorant of the inconſiſtency of demanding ſhips of the RUSSIANS, whoſe intereſt it was to aſſiſt rather than oppreſs the LESGEES, their mountains being ſo ſecure a barrier to RUSSIA. The TURKUMAN TARTARS on the eaſtern coaſt had by frequent incurſions excited the SHAH's reſentment; but their ſandy and inhoſpitable country could be attempted only by water. The ambition of ſharing the trade and ſovereignty of the CASPIAN might alſo be a concurring inducement. This however is certain, that by his ambaſſadors whom he had ſent a few years before into RUSSIA, he demanded ſhip-carpenters of that court. The anſwer was, that the empreſs had no other carpenters than foreigners, who had contracted to ſerve the government in RUSSIA, ſo that ſhe had no authority to ſend them to any other country.

Indeed the PERSIANS now imagined, that Mr. ELTON did not really intend to build ſhips, but only to amuſe the SHAH for the accompliſhment

* This character alludes to the low marſhy parts of it.

of

of ſome particular deſign. But ELTON was very much in earneſt, and proved himſelf capable of ſurmounting the greateſt difficulties. It is eaſy to conceive that the PERSIANS already groaning under oppreſſions, would be extremely reluctant in ſubmitting to an additional burthen of taxes in regard to maritime affairs, of which they were intirely ignorant. The peaſants were not only obliged to labour, but to furniſh materials. Many were compelled to leave the cultivation of their rice and ſilk, which was familiar to them, in order to undertake this laborious and ungrateful employment. This induced numbers to run away almoſt as ſoon as they were brought to the new ſhip-yard; to which they were the more tempted, as the indiſcretion of ſeveral of the PERSIAN officers was often the occaſion of their being left without proviſions. The puniſhment ordinarily inflicted on theſe poor wretches, was to be nailed by the ear to the ſtern-poſt of a ſhip, and after they had ſtood ſome hours, a motion being made at them with a battle-ax, they drew back their heads, and tore open the wound.

Mr. ELTON had found good timber in GHILAN and the adjacent provinces; but the badneſs of the roads made it hardly practicable to bring it to the ſpot. In MAZANDERAN there is iron ore; but they had no anchor-ſmiths, ſo that Mr. ELTON was obliged to fiſh for the anchors which the RUSSIANS during a courſe of years had loſt on the coaſt. Sail-cloth he made of cotton, and cordage of flax; but his greateſt want was that of carpenters. He had indeed collected a few INDIANS, with ſome RUSSIAN renegadoes, and had one ENGLISH ſhip-carpenter, whom he had inveigled to leave captain WOODROOFE's ſhip. Thus he contended with numerous and almoſt inſuperable difficulties; but he had a ſpirit equal to the moſt arduous enterprize.

I found him however labouring under ſome anxious thoughts, which, I concluded, aroſe from his circumſtances at that time. I expreſſed my fears of the conſequences of his engagement; and though I did not then enter into them ſo deeply as afterwards; yet I pointed out many capital inconveniences which I apprehended.

It

It is no wonder that a man of an enterprizing genius ſhould expect to derive honour and reputation from the favour of a prince: and it is a well known property of ambition to deſpiſe difficulties in purſuit of a favourite object. It was eaſy to perceive the growing joy in Mr. ELTON's breaſt; but whatever he might imagine, the more intelligent PERSIANS looked on themſelves as happy, in proportion to their obſcurity and diſtance from the ſovereign; and, on the other hand, they rated their miſery according as neceſſity obliged them to ſeek their bread, and the precarious tenure of life, under a tyrant and uſurper.

The accounts of travellers are full of the ingratitude and diſregard, which the PERSIAN kings have always ſhewn to EUROPEAN chriſtians, whom they conſider as idolaters and unclean. To depend on the ſmiles even of a lawful king in PERSIA, is a ſituation by no means deſirable; but under ſo oppreſſive an uſurper as NADIR, muſt have proved extremely precarious. I wiſhed however, for Mr. ELTON's ſake, that all might go well; and what we wiſh we are ſometimes apt to believe, even againſt general experience. I was the more eaſily deceived into a perſuaſion that the RUSSIAN jealouſy might ſubſide; becauſe Mr. ELTON repreſented his conduct as ſubſervient to the promotion of the trade.

The reader muſt have already obſerved, that one great inducement to open the CASPIAN trade, was the hopes of eſtabliſhing a new branch from ASTRABAD to MESCHED, from whence Mr. ELTON conceived it practicable, to extend it to the northern cities of the MOGUL's empire. It now fell to my lot to attempt the execution of this deſign. I had brought with me the value of 5000 l. in woolen goods, for which I found there was no market in GHILAN, ſo that my preſence there would be of little or no uſe. My curioſity therefore, which indeed was one deſign of my journey, induced me to go farther. Though Mr. ELTON had already procured the SHAH's expreſs decree, ordering that ſafe conduct ſhould be given us where-ever we might happen to travel within his dominions; ſtill I was ſo far alarmed by the vicinity of the TURKUMAN TARTARS to ASTRABAD, that I did not chuſe to venture till I had made the ſtricteſt

inquiry; the reſult of which was this, that the country was full of ſoldiers, and I might have what guard I pleaſed in caſe of danger.

The tempeſtuous weather which had detained me for ſome days now abating; the 10th of December I took my leave of Mr. ELTON, and went down the creek. The ſhip was at anchor out of ſight of land, and the wind blew very freſh; we had but a crazy boat rowed by PERSIANS, who are generally as unſkilful as timorous, ſo that it was with reluctance I ventured to ſea; but we ſoon got ſight of the ſhip, and happily reached her.

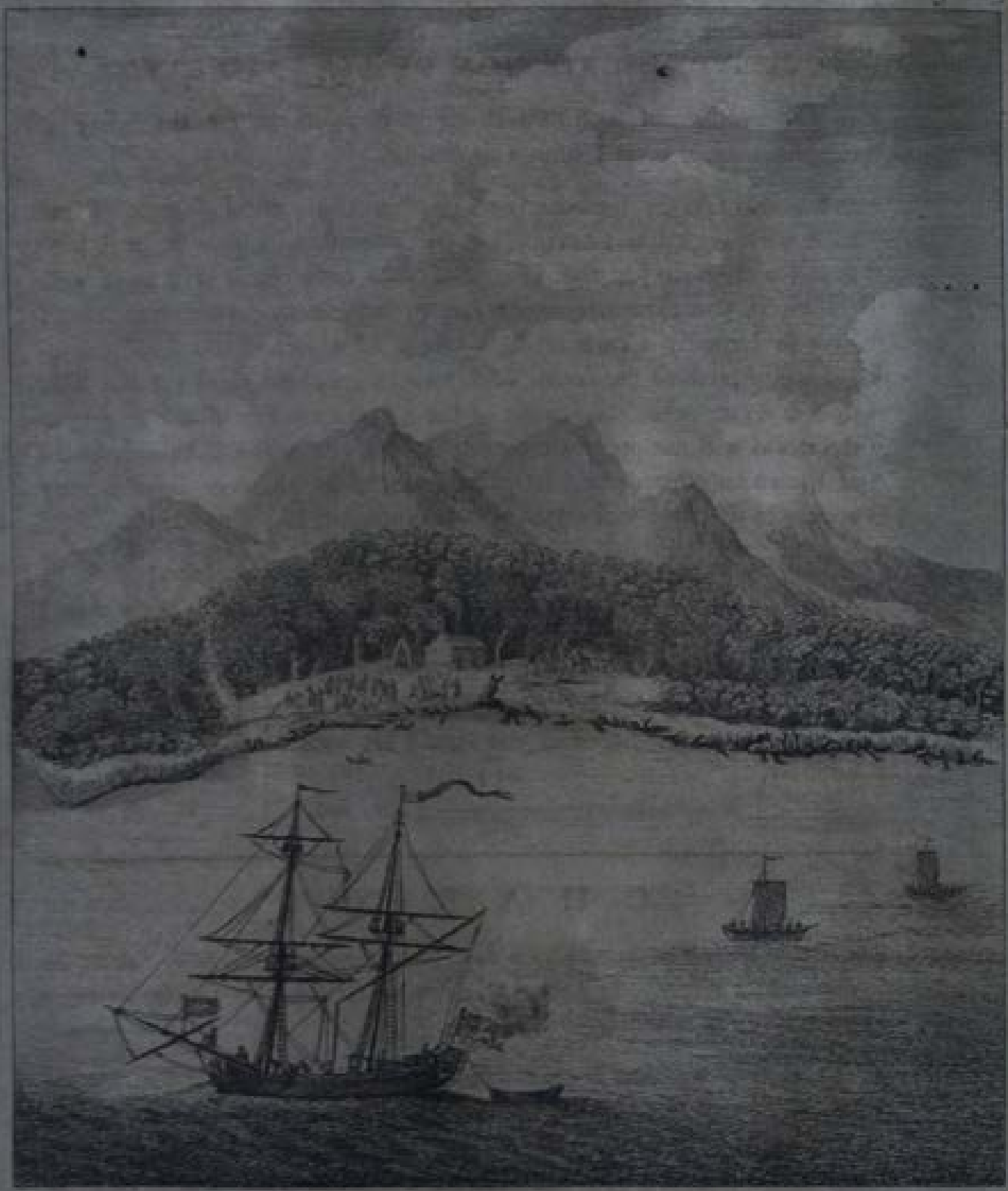
Immediately we weighed, and directed our courſe to ASTRABAD. As we ſteered eaſtward the ſky brightened, and the air became gentle and warm, not unlike the weather there is ſometimes about the ſame latitude in EUROPE, ſuch as the PORTUGUESE call St. MARTIN's ſummer. We were four days in ſight of the great mountain DEMOAN, which is ſaid to be 30 leagues within land. At the diſtance of 4 or 5 leagues from the ſhore, we could diſtinguiſh it very plain riſing in form of a pyramid. The 18th of December we arrived in ASTRABAD bay *, into which the river KORGAN runs, after waſhing the banks of the deſert of TURKUMANIA. Here, as in other parts of the CASPIAN, the ſea has made great inroads, ſo that in many places the trunks and whole bodies of trees lay on the ſhore, and make it as difficult of acceſs, as its appearance is wild and inhoſpitable. I took the firſt opportunity of writing to Mr. ELTON, not only to inform him of my ſafe arrival, but to confirm by letter the ſentiments I had delivered in our laſt diſcourſe.

SIR, ASTRABAD-BAY, December 1743.

"I Have the pleaſure to acquaint you of my having proceeded thus far, "in conſequence of the aſſurance you have given me that I ſhould find "all neceſſary aſſiſtance in the execution of our deſign. I have inquired "of the people what kind of merchandize have ever been ſent by this "rout to MESCHED? They anſwer, none; their caravans from hence "being compoſed only of devotees, who go to worſhip in that city. Whe-

* Often called BUNDAGOIAR bay.

"ther



Astrabad bay in the S.E. Corner of the Caspian.

"ther the paſſage of ſuch caravans is any argument for the ſafety of "merchandize, is what I cannot determine.

"I would fain ſay ſomething to you on the painful ſubject of our "trade with regard to RUSSIA; but you underſtand it ſo well, and have "ſo juſt a concern for the intereſt of your country, as well as of your "employers, that I think it unneceſſary to intrude any repetition of what I "have ſo earneſtly recommended. It is an object of no ſmall conſe-"quence to preſerve the favour of the SHAH; but we muſt not buy it at "ſo dear a rate as the reſentment of the RUSSIANS. For all the oratory in "the world will not prevent their conſidering you as the chief inſtrument "of the SHAH's maritime enterprize, which, in whatever light it may "appear to us, they will certainly deem injurious to their intereſt.

"You know very well what written obligations were required of me in "ASTRACHAN, and in what manner I was obliged to comply with them; "otherwiſe you had not ſeen this ſhip again on the PERSIAN coaſt: and "now I muſt ſhow all poſſible regard to thoſe engagements. It is my "hearty deſire to reconcile theſe difficulties, and make all parties eaſy; but "to this purpoſe it is neceſſary you ſhould act with me in concert. I am "ſincerely, SIR,

Your, &c."

CHAP. XXVI.

The author arrives at ASTRABAD *bay. The inhabitants alarmed, taking his ſhip to be a pirate. An account of* ASTRABAD *bay. He reaches* ASTRABAD *with his caravan.*

OUR ſhip was now anchored in three fathom water, at the diſtance of 1½ mile from the ſhore; when I diſpatched an ARMENIAN ſervant to know if I might land my goods with ſafety: he ſoon returned, but without obtaining any information. We ſaw many fires in different places near the ſhore, and upon the mountains; theſe were made with an intent to alarm the inhabitants for fear of a ſurprize, as they took us for

pirates. The people on this coaſt having been often plundered by the OGURTJOY and RUSSIAN pirates, and ſeeing ſo large a veſſel at anchor in their road, were under great apprehenſions. The 20th, The weather continuing very delightful, I went a ſhore. The ſtumps of trees and ſhallows made it difficult for a long boat to land nearer than 20 yards. The peaſants being at length ſatisfied that we were friends, and come with merchandize, received us on the ſhore, and conducted us by many crooked paths through a thick wood to a ſmall village. The people are ſwarthy, but their features regular, and in general they are inclined to a delicacy in their make. I ſent my ARMENIAN interpreter with my compliments to MAHOMMED ZAMON BEG, the governor of ASTRABAD, with orders alſo to provide neceſſaries for the freſh package of my cloth, for I intended to make proper bales for camel and horſe carriage. After this I returned on board.

The 21ſt, The ſun was riſen above an hour before it was viſible to us on board the ſhip; ſuch was the ſtupendous height of the mountains. In the evening the ARMENIAN returned from the city, which is about 8 hours diſtance: The governor aſſured us of his protection; but charged me in a particular manner not to repoſe any confidence in the peaſants in the neighbourhood of the coaſt. The dews here fall heavy; and the heat of the ſun under the mountains is productive of colds and aguiſh pains. The 24th, I was viſited by NASEER AGA, a PERSIAN officer, who had been recommended to me as a perſon of great probity and intereſt in that country: he made us an offer of his houſe at ASTRABAD, which I accepted, and aſſured him of the ſenſe I had of my own happineſs in the civility and kindneſs of ſo generous a friend. NASEER AGA was accompanied by MYRZA MAHOMMED, a grave old man, who having made a pilgrimage to MECCA, and ſpent a great part of his fortune in honour of MAHOMMED, was dignified with the title of HAHDGEE *; he had alſo a reputation for wiſdom, and was often appealed to in controverſies. He had been rich; but the common lot of the PERSIANS under the tyranny of NADIR, deprived him of his wealth. His office now was to collect taxes in the juriſdiction of the province.

* This title is given to all thoſe who have made this pilgrimage.

The

The 25th, Being chriſtmas-day, I excuſed the ſeamen from working at the package of cloth, and prevailed on them to hear prayers and a ſermon. ENGLISH ſeamen, of all mankind, ſeem the moſt indifferent with regard to religious duties; but their indifference is not more the effect of want of reflection, than the irreligious careleſsneſs of their leaders. It is not to be imagined they would fight leſs, if they prayed more; at leaſt we find the praying warriors in CROMWELL's days fought as if they were ſure of becoming ſaints in heaven. Certain it is our ſeamen do not entertain the ſame impreſſions of religion as the common run of labouring people.

The next day our ſhip was in no ſmall danger of being burnt. About eighty pounds of raw cotton, intended for the ſecure package of the bales, was laid in the ſteerage. By the careleſsneſs of one of the ſeamen it took fire, and was with difficulty extinguiſhed. I was aſleep in the cabin, and almoſt ſuffocated with the ſmoke; our danger was the greater, as the fire was about the powder-cheſt: however it pleaſed providence that no harm was done, except burning the hands and faces of ſome of the ſailors, which the application of burnt oil ſoon removed. At night the woods on the mountains took fire, and the wind feeding the flame, made a frightful blaze, which extended ſeveral miles. The blaſt came off the ſhore, inſomuch that our butter ran like oil. There had been a bright ſun, and no rain, for twenty days, ſo that it was with difficulty the peaſants diverted the current of the flame, and ſaved their villages. This accident was occaſioned by a cuſtom of burning the ruſhes on the coaſt, with a view to deſtroy the inſects that breed in them, and to make a free paſſage for the air.

The different currents which meet in the road, and the eddies of wind obliged us often to new lay our anchors; in other reſpects this harbour is very ſafe. The 28th, Having finiſhed the package of 116 bales, we prepared to go on ſhore. My ARMENIAN interpreter now began to expreſs his fears of the danger we ſhould be expoſed to in our intended journey to MESCHED. He had already, in ſome former rebellions, been robbed in that city of goods to a conſiderable value, and partly from age, and partly from conſtitution, was of a timorous diſpoſition. What he ſaid made there-

therefore but little impreſſion upon me, eſpecially as he had been ſilent till now, and did not point out any particular danger. The 29th, HAHDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED, who had already offered his ſervices, received orders from the governor of the province to ſupply us with a guard, and to entertain me in his houſe. Accordingly we landed the bales, and without waiting the uncertain arrival of the governor, who had intimated a deſign of viſiting the ſhip, I reſolved to viſit him firſt.

The 2d of January 1744. Hazy weather, and other incidents, prevented the proſecution of our journey till this day. We pitched our tent on the ſhore, and collected all the people who were to convey the caravan. The HAHDGEE ſent me an invitation to come to his houſe, and his ſon who came with the meſſage, aſſured me in a complimental ſtrain, that his father would kill him, if he returned without me. However, I excuſed myſelf till the next day, reſolving to remain in my tent. One of the company ſung an extempore ſong, conſiſting moſtly of welcomes, and fulſome commendations, intended as a greater mark of civility to us as ſtrangers and EUROPEANS. When this was done, they eat their PLEO, which they finiſhed in a much ſhorter time than a table can be laid for a polite entertainment in EUROPE. As they had broken timber in great abundance, they made large fires, round which they danced, and ſeemed to be in high joy. The evening being advanced, they performed their exerciſes of devotion. The 3d the SHACKALLS[b] in the woods bark'd and howl'd ſo much during the night, that it is very difficult for perſons unuſed to ſuch muſic to receive the refreſhment of ſleep. In the morning we broke up our little camp, the HAHDGEE's brother, and his two ſons, attended us with ſeveral horſes, of which I took only one for myſelf, and another for my interpreter. The number of carriers exceeding that of the loads, I could not reſtrain them from ſeizing them, in as hoſtile a manner as HUNGARIAN HUSSARS would have pillaged the baggage of a MARSHAL of FRANCE: and indeed I was for ſome time at a loſs, if they did not mean ſomething of that nature in good earneſt. From the ſhore to the high road there are many narrow paths, with broken and decayed bridges, and ſe-

[b] Commonly called JACKALLS, which reſemble foxes. It is ſaid the barking of theſe animals once alarmed the whole RUSSIAN army in GHILAN.

veral

veral ditches made by the flowing of the water from the mountains. In about eight hours we arrived ſafe at the city, the carriers making but one ſtop on the way to perform their devotions. The firſt object which ſtruck my eyes upon entering the gates, was a large ſpot of ground appropriated to the burial of the dead.

CHAP. XXVII.

The behaviour of the governor to the author at ASTRABAD. *Deſcription of the* PERSIAN *manner of ſmoaking. The ſubſtance of ſeveral converſations with perſons of rank in that city.*

THE 4th of January, HAIDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED, and ſeveral others, came to viſit me, and adviſed me to ſell part of my caravan in that city. This was not practicable in any quantity, nor conſiſtent with my deſign of going to MESCHED. The 5th, As I had not yet provided an equipage neceſſary to make a proper appearance before the governor, NASEER AGA, in whoſe houſe I was lodged, lent me a horſe handſomely capariſoned, and inſiſted on my taking his ſervants as well as my own, to attend me. The preſent I had prepared for the governor, conſiſting of ſeveral cuts of fine cloth, and loaves of ſugar, was laid on a large tea-board, and carried in before me. He was attended by ſeveral perſons of the beſt diſtinction in the city, particularly by MAHOMMED HASSAN BEG ſon of the late FATEY ALI KHAN, MAHOMMED KHAN BEG, and SADOC AGA; the two laſt were the ſons of KHANS in favour with the SHAH. They all roſe at my coming in, and deſired me to take my place; but obſerving I could not accommodate myſelf to their manner, the governor ordered a chair, and bid me welcome to PERSIA; adding this hyperbolical compliment, that the city of ASTRABAD was now mine to do what I pleaſed with it. I returned my thanks, and aſſured him of the great ſatisfaction I enjoyed in being received into the protection of a perſon of his character and authority: that I apprehended this was the firſt attempt the ENGLISH merchants had ever made to convey merchandize into the interior parts of PERSIA by this rout; and I was therefore the more concerned to provide with all poſſible attention

tion for a quick and ſecure paſſage at an eaſy expence: that he knew very well the SHAH had been pleaſed to grant the ENGLISH merchants the moſt favourable decrees in relation to their trade in all parts of his dominions, and it depended on him to ſee his majeſty's pleaſure executed on this occaſion. I then demanded of him if the paſſage to MESCHED was ſafe? He anſwered in the affirmative, and that I might be aſſured nothing in his power ſhould be neglected to render it ſo; and that he would ſend four choice ſoldiers with me, who ſhould be bound for the ſafe delivery of our caravan at MESCHED. I thanked him, and begging to be honoured with his commands, took my leave.

Common gratitude now called on me to pay my reſpects to NASEER AGA, of whoſe humanity and politeneſs I had received ſuch ſignal proof. This old man had been a companion of NADIR, when he was the chief of a party of robbers in the neighbouring mountains. He now ſeemed too good a man for NADIR's purpoſe, and the mediocrity of his fortune and ambition had ſecured him from moſt of thoſe calamities which were common even to favourites. His hoary beard gave a venerable air to his perſon, and a manly chearfulneſs, joined to an amiable aſſurance, graced his words. There is a reverence due to age, which by long experience frequently compenſates for the loſs of juvenile endowments; whilſt health, good nature, and ſtrength of underſtanding, produce many of the ſocial enjoyments of life. The old man received me with great marks of kindneſs, and ſent for thoſe maſter-carriers, who might probably engage to convey my caravan to MESCHED. Here I firſt received a proof of that cunning and equivocating diſpoſition, which diſtinguiſhes the modern PERSIANS, and was a prologue to that tragic ſcene, wherein I had ſoon after ſo great a ſhare. It was impoſſible to fix them to any thing; and finding they trifled, I took my leave for that time.

The 7th, I was viſited by ſeveral of the principal men of that place, who came out of curioſity, or perhaps with a dark deſign. They made their compliment by putting their hand on their breaſt, and bowing their head. Thoſe who are more familiar, preſs the palm of your hand between the palms of both theirs, and then raiſe them to their forehead, to expreſs

expreſs the high and cordial reſpect they have for your perſon. Moſt of my viſitors behaved with an air of importance, and ſpoke very little: after ſitting and ſmoaking the caallean for a few minutes, they took their leave.

The PERSIANS are extremely fond of tobacco; ſome of them draw the ſmoke in ſo prodigious a quantity, that it comes out of their noſes. The caallean uſed in ſmoaking is a glaſs veſſel reſembling a decanter, and filled about three parts with water. Their tobacco is yellow, and very mild, compared with that of AMERICA; being prepared with water and made into a ball, it is put into a ſilver utenſil not unlike a tea-cup, to which there is a tube affixed that reaches almoſt to the bottom of the veſſel. There is another tube fixed to the neck of the veſſel above the water; to this is faſtened a leathern pipe, through which they draw the ſmoke; and as it paſſes through the water, it is cool and pleaſant. The PERSIANS for many ages have been immoderately fond of the caallean. SHAH ABAS the GREAT made a law to puniſh this indulgence with death; but many choſe to forſake their habitations, and to hide themſelves in the mountains, rather than be deprived of this infatuating enjoyment. Thus this prince could not put a ſtop to a cuſtom, which he conſidered not only as unnatural and irreligious, but alſo as attended with idleneſs and unneceſſary expence.

I entertained ſome of my gueſts according to their own manner with ſweet meats, of which they took a little, and gave the remainder to their ſervants; theſe are often ſo numerous that a treat of this kind will coſt 10 or 12 crowns. This cuſtom, abſurd and expenſive as it appeared to me, had ſomething of the air of hoſpitality in the perſon entertaining. I could not but conſider it as much leſs inconſiſtent than that which prevails in ſome parts of EUROPE, where almoſt every man's ſervant is bribed by his maſter's gueſt, for doing his duty; where every gueſt is a ſlave to the ſervant, by ſubmitting to a compulſive tax, which even the ſovereign has no authority to impoſe; where every one complains of the abuſe, and, as a proof of the ſlavery, is obedient to it, except a few, who having been free in countries of ſlavery, will not be ſlaves in a free country.

Is it not abſurd to the higheſt degree that the greateſt lord of the land, ſhall meanly look on, and ſee his ſervants, rapacious by his authority, wring from the hard hands even of peaſants, their ſlender ſupport? Is it not abſurd that gentlemen of ſmall fortunes ſhould be guilty of the folly of giving away their money as if they were rich; or be obliged to confeſs to menial ſervants that they are not rich; or exclude themſelves from the company of their opulent friends, whoſe houſes, even where there has been an appearance of a generous invitation, are oftentimes nothing more than diſagreeable and expenſive inns? Is it not abſurd, in fine, that a ſtrange corruption of manners ſhould induce almoſt every maſter to contract with his ſervant, that the greateſt part of his wages ſhall be paid him by his neighbours; though his own expences are by this means not only increaſed, but alſo rendered impertinent and vexatious; whilſt ſervants, on the other hand, become extravagant, in conſequence of theſe preposterous revenues, and their morals ſpoiled by the folly of their maſters?

To return to my ſtory. Having agreed at length upon a price for 17 camels and 62 horſes at 7 ¼ crowns per bale, I advanced to the carriers a ſmall part of the money, as earneſt. But I ſoon found that it is a frequent practice for the PERSIANS to recede from their agreements; and when any deciſion can be obtained in ſuch caſes, the verdict is uſually given in favour of thoſe who appear to have the worſe ſide, or have engaged to execute more than is convenient for them to perform: ſo that I could have but very little dependance on this contract.

My good friends NASEER AGA and the HADGEE made me a viſit, and brought ſeveral other perſons with them. Their buſineſs was to enquire if I believed JESUS CHRIST to be the ſon of GOD; intimating this to be the perſuaſion of CHRISTIANS, and without waiting long for an anſwer, they pronounced me an idolater. My interpreter, who was himſelf a CHRISTIAN, was a little ſtartled, and aſked me what anſwer he ſhould make. I told him, that I was not come there to enter into religious controverſies with MAHOMMEDANS; who without doubt would remain in their own faith, as I hoped to do in mine: however if he pleaſed he might gratify their curioſity, and tell them that I believed JE-

SUS

sus Christ to be the ſon of God; leaving him to give what further account of my religion, he might think proper upon the principles mentioned in the next chapter, being the reſult of frequent diſcourſes and reflections to which this enquiry gave occaſion.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Idolatry being imputed to the author, he attempts to defend chriſtianity. His notions of religion.

TO form an adequate notion of religion we muſt begin with ADAM. God, amidſt the boundleſs glories of his creation, made man, compounded of an animal body and a rational ſoul. Whether we trace him to his original, or conſider him in his preſent circumſtances, he muſt have been taught what is neceſſary to him, in regard to the great ends of providence in his conſtitution. Where his knowledge ceaſes is not obvious; but what the proper objects of his powers are, is plainly deducible from this, that he is loſt in a labyrinth, when he attempts to challenge the divine artificer, why his workmanſhip is ſo compounded, or by what ſecret laws this union was made ſo wonderful and amazing in all it's parts?

It is evident to us that for ends known to the eternal wiſdom, and in ſome degree obvious to us, he made freedom eſſential to human nature. By an almoſt univerſal conſent of mankind, it is acknowledged, that, in conſequence of this freedom, man has ſwerved from the original law of his nature, and by following the dictates of his inferior faculties in preference to his reaſon, he has conſequently diſobeyed the divine law. His nature being thus corrupted, he could no longer enjoy the happineſs adapted to his original frame. When men talk as if they had two natures, the one pure, the other corrupted, the doctrine ſerves only to perplex the enquiry. We know, and to our ſorrow feel, that our nature, our ONE NATURE, as it came out of the hands of it's maker, is become corrupted: nor can we with conſiſtency ſay, that any vice is natural, without injuring the author of nature, who certainly intended the univerſal happineſs of his creatures. But vice unde-

niably produces miſery, and conſequently is not natural to man. Perhaps there is no word uſed in ſo looſe and indefinite a ſenſe as that of nature. To ſay a thing is natural, according to nature, or agreeable to the courſe of nature, muſt certainly convey the ſame idea, and are terms which ought by no means to be uſed without a ſenſe of him who is the firſt cauſe, and has the courſe and government of nature in his hands.

The notion we ought to form of nature at large, with regard to the diſpoſition made by one ſupreme and intelligent being, muſt be intirely analogous to that rule of government which can alone ſupport the moral excellence and dignity of HUMAN nature; which is plainly the end of chriſtianity. What man, with the greateſt ſtretch of human reaſon, can ſuggeſt to himſelf ſo admirable a plan of government; or ſuch noble motives to action, as that ruling principle, the love of one ſupreme and ſelf-exiſtent being, the great creator and ſupporter of all things?

The love of man is next in dignity to that of GOD, and in the operations of the mind muſt precede, as being the ſcale by which we aſcend to heaven. Man conſidered as the moſt excellent work of the viſible world, the expreſs image of his maker, and the heir of immortal happineſs, muſt ever demand the higheſt attention. How little in value is the material compared with the intellectual world? The voice of god, as well as reaſon, proclaim the vaſt ſuperiority. And what are all the externals of majeſty, what the charms of beauty, or the pride of wealth, but the enjoyments of a moment? But the love of man is commenſurate with eternity, nor is he leſs an object of this love, for having deviated from his original perfection; ſince all men are the ſame; and this ſeems to have conſtituted, as a counterpoiſe to our corruption, a paſſion as ſtrong as any in the human breaſt; I mean compaſſion. Can we conſider god, or man, in any view not conſiſtent with this principle, without deviating from nature?

If the nature of man is to be rational, and if reaſon teaches that obedience to his maker is his higheſt felicity, it muſt alſo teach, that diſobedience is his greateſt miſery. That man has paſſions and appetites which

which oppoſe reaſon, is obvious; but it is equally true, that the nature of theſe, in the great order of things, is to be ſubſervient to reaſon. Our eyes were certainly given us to ſee; but our reaſon was as ſurely given us that we might ſhut thoſe eyes when the object is dangerous either to our moral or animal nature; nor can there be any plea of ignorance againſt this doctrine: for the almighty has certainly written a law upon men's minds; and whatever his wiſdom required ſhould be done, excluclusive of this mental law, he has, at different periods of time, made known to mankind.

If GOD has originally taught man a law with reſpect to his conduct, and by making him a ſocial being, continued to him the MEANS of that KNOWLEDGE; it is not natural for man to be ignorant of that which his maker requires of him: On the contrary, it was an unnatural rebellion againſt the almighty that introduced the ignorance which exiſted before the coming of a ſaviour; a ſtate of ignorance at that time conſequently was not the ſtate of nature: but more indubitably it is NOT ſo NOW.

Before the promulgation of the goſpel, men who walked by the light which they then had, could not be accountable for more: even before the JEWISH diſpenſation, in conſequence of the knowledge men firſt had of a ſupreme being, they preſerved ſome notions of one GOD, and of moral duties, as productive of happineſs, and ſuitable to the dignity of their natures; and this I apprehend we generally call natural religion. However we do not uſually call that the religion of nature, which hardly appears to be any religion at all, or at beſt is only a rule injurious to the ſociety. But ſuppoſing the common term NATURAL RELIGION to be applicable in any degree to the moſt ignorant ſavages, that muſt be the worſt religion, (for here there may be degrees in this general notion) which is furtheſt removed from the happineſs of the ſociety. Man, who is a ſocial creature, acts unnaturally in proportion as he neglects the preſervation of ſociety. This notion will alſo lead us to the great doctrine of chriſtianity, and the beneficence of the ſupreme being, demonſtrated in that diſpenſation, ſo powerfully operating with the original plan of moral government.

Now

Now let an unprejudiced MAHOMMEDAN be rightly informed what the precepts of chriſtianity teach, and examine if the practice of the chriſtian religion is not the ſtate moſt agreeable to the true nature of man, as deducible from his conſtitution. And if the chriſtian religion is agreeable to virtue, or rather the true ſtandard of it, we are reduced to the neceſſity of acknowledging, either that both the chriſtian religion and virtue in general are unnatural, or that vice is unnatural; unleſs, with regard to nature, we confound the diſtinction of virtue and vice, and make them one and the ſame thing. Nothing is plainer than this doctrine; but I believe nothing has done more harm to the cauſe of religion than inattention to it; for by imputing vice to NATURE, which is commonly done, we enervate that deteſtation which ariſes in the human breaſt upon the mention of thoſe things which we denominate UNNATURAL. Methinks I ought to bluſh at the indignity which I offer to the common ſenſe of my reader; but when he conſiders that many who mean well, and think clearly in moſt of the concerns of life, are notwithſtanding extremely biaſſed in their judgments in this point; he will think an apology needleſs.

The fallacy ſeems to lie in this, that nature, and the corruption of nature are for the moſt part confounded in men's ideas. If by nature we mean the pure eſſence and true quality of a thing, we do not mean the corruption of that thing; more than we mean vinegar, when we talk of wine. The corruption of nature is indeed repugnant to virtue; yet if we attend to our own make and conſtitution, we ſhall ſoon learn, in a neceſſary degree, how and in what inſtances our nature is corrupted, and equally diſcover a power to war with that corruption; and, in proportion as we triumph over it, we are reſtored to our original ſtate of freedom, that is, of nature uncorrupted. The opinion the MAHOMMEDANS have of this corruption, which ſullied the mind of man, ſeems to agree with that of the chriſtians; but this doctrine, however important, is not familiar to the generality of men. I conceive it to bear a ſtrong alluſion to the ſtate of one, who, by ſome accident, becomes lunatick, and entails this infirmity upon his children. In this caſe indeed a man may not be anſwerable;

ſwerable; but in the caſe of our firſt parents they became accountable, becauſe they were free agents. If, in ſucceeding generations, we were not exactly in the ſame circumſtances as our firſt parents; we ſtill acted againſt the light which our reaſon ſuggeſted, or againſt thoſe revelations which, at different ages of the world, have been confirmed to us by the miraculous interpoſition of divine providence.

By this corruption of nature, the paſſions, which were originally deſigned to aſſiſt reaſon, have, as experience teaches us, rebelled againſt it, and ſubjected all the ſons of ADAM to the ſame puniſhment as their firſt progenitor: Now can we ſuppoſe that infinite goodneſs ſhould ſuffer ſo glorious a part of the creation to periſh in this unnatural ſtate? The common notion of mankind in all ages and countries is, that a divine inſtructor has been ſent to them. The chriſtian ſays, that "as by one man, ſin and death came into the world; ſo by one man," the great prophet and lawgiver now in queſtion, "life and immortality were reſtored." The MAHOMMEDANS aſk, why the great lord of the univerſe ſhould ſend his ſon into the world in form of a man? To argue upon principles deduced from the reaſon of things, may we not ſay that truth, in the abſtract, thus became an object of ſenſe; and that the deity brought himſelf to the ſtandard of human capacities? We ſaw, we heard, we felt the god in his human nature. He was a man as well as a god; a man, ſuch as we are, ſin only excepted: He rejoiced and wept, was glad and ſorrowful: He eat, and drank, and ſlept: He had his friendſhips and affections: He gave us a law as to men; and, as a man, he ſet us an example. But the chriſtian further reduces the matter to this iſſue: God ſaw good to take this method to reſtore mankind, and therefore it muſt be right. If the MAHOMMEDANS yet aſks, why it ſhould be ſo; and ſtill applies to finite capacities to judge of infinite wiſdom? What can you do more than queſtion him, why it ſhould not be ſo? Aſk him, if he thinks it too much or too great a thing for the almighty? Bid him behold the wonders of the creation, and obſerve every part of nature replete with amazing art, and proclaiming his incomprehenſible goodneſs and wiſdom. Is man inferior to theſe? Do we underſtand the laws of his

his government, or the nature of that power by which he ſupports the material world? Is the heir of immortality not equal in dignity to this inanimate ſyſtem?

If the tree is known by its fruits, the goodneſs of a religion muſt be diſcovered by it's effects, and it's conſiſtency with reaſon; the teſtimony of thoſe who oppoſe it concurring in any material point, or proving inſufficient to invalidate it. The PAGANS, the JEWS, the MAHOMMEDANS acknowledge that ſuch a man appeared in the world as JESUS CHRIST; they diſpute his divinity, and many of his glorious acts; but for this they are obliged to have recourſe to low evaſions and puerile ſubterfuges; ſtill they aſcribe many wonderful works to him. And laſtly, though they do not acknowledge his crucifixion, they ſay he was conveyed away in a miraculous manner, and a perſon like him put in his place. The MAHOMMEDAN alſo verifies the prediction, which is cloſely connected with the belief of chriſtianity, and treats the JEW as a perſecutor of the true prophet, whilſt the chriſtian deplores his blindneſs.

Among other corroborating proofs the chriſtian urges the prophecies concerning the total diſſolution of the JEWISH government, and the deſtruction of that nation, once the favourite people of GOD. The JEWS were long the ſole depoſitaries of thoſe writings which promiſe and point out the time of the coming of JESUS CHRIST; but deny that time to be accompliſhed: So far they believe in the MESSIAH. The PAGAN world received chriſtianity, though it was ſo greatly repugnant to their eſtabliſhed opinions, and the corruption of nature, that we ought to conclude it could not have prevailed, had any leſs than a divine power directed it. Chriſtianity is the proper religion of mankind; we ſay it is as old as the creation, becauſe ordained by GOD from the beginning. It is true, JESUS CHRIST was born only 1744 years ago; but how long have the prophets of old foretold his appearance: One of the moſt remarkable was above 700 years before; and this ſpeaks of him in terms of the greateſt honour, viz. "For unto us a child is born, unto us a ſon is given; and the go-
"vernment ſhall be upon his ſhoulder; and his name ſhall be called,
"WONDERFUL, COUNSELLOR, THE MIGHTY GOD, THE EVERLASTING
"FATHER,

"FATHER [r], THE PRINCE OF PEACE." And the ſhort hiſtory of him is this: "GOD was manifeſted in the fleſh, juſtified by the ſpirit, ſeen of "angels, believed on in the world, received up into glory, and in him "are all the treaſures of wiſdom and knowledge." That his birth was miraculous, is confeſſed even by the MAHOMMEDANS; for they ſay he was conceived of a virgin by the ſmell of a roſe. To grant there was ſuch a perſon, and that he was thus conceived, is being half a chriſtian, with regard to the ſupernatural birth of CHRIST.

But as his birth was above nature, ſo was his whole life. MAHOMMED came to extirpate all who oppoſed him with fire and ſword. CHRIST came with the meekneſs of a child, to extend his mercy to all mankind. The power which he employed was from heaven. The means which he uſed were of ſo different a nature from any thing merely human, that granting he lived and died, and that his religion does exiſt, is a ſtrong argument of the divinity of that power, by which he eſtabliſhed ſuch a religion. He ſuffered an ignominious death as a common malefactor; yet has his doctrine been eſtabliſhed on that ſuffering, and ſpread over the earth. MAHOMMED ſupported his ſchemes of religious government on the principles of worldly power; but our prophet ſays, "Learn of me, "for I am meek and lowly;" and upon this principle was his whole life conducted.

The MAHOMMEDANS, you ſay [s], conſider us as idolaters; you will not convince them of the contrary: for that would be in effect to convert them to chriſtianity. Tell them at leaſt that ours is a good religion: that one great article of it is, to pray for them and for all mankind. That the ſum of our law is, "to do as we would be done by; to viſit the fa-"therleſs and the widow, and to keep ourſelves unſpotted from the world." Tell them that we adore one only GOD, the ſupreme lord and father of all things, in which they will grant we are no idolaters; but that indeed we pray to him through the merits of his ſon, to aſſiſt us with his holy ſpirit, to obey his laws, or to forgive the breach of them, upon con-

[r] The father of the age to come, according to ſome learned divines. [s] The ISTEPARSTER.

dition of our ſincere repentance. In this we ſpeak as conceiving a difference, and aſcribing to each thoſe offices, which our revelation warrants, without preſuming to underſtand in what the union and diviſibilty conſiſts. This is the myſtery of the chriſtian religion, which, by the exerciſe of faith, attributes all the mercy that the utmoſt ſtretch of human reaſon can aſcribe to GOD; and all the worth and dignity that can be imputed to man; to be at once demonſtrated by the deity in his taking the human form, when he appeared upon the earth. Whenever we contemplate this amazing inſtance of the divine conduct, it raiſes the mind to heaven from whence it is derived.

That there is ſuch a thing as faith, or the evidence of things not ſeen, nor comprehended, is common to mankind of all religions, and in all countries. Is it ſtrange that GOD will not condeſcend to be the object of our REASON only? He requires FAITH, and imputes it to us as a virtue; he requires this higheſt reaſon of the ſoul, which is a RESIGNATION of the whole man; all POSSIBLE RESIGNATION to him as an incomprehenſible GOD, who is the ſovereign diſpoſer of all things, in a manner as far above our conception as his infinite perfections are ſuperior to the narrow bounds of human capacities.

That JESUS CHRIST is GOD, that is, divine in nature, is, I think, very clear from the writings which contain the oracles of our religion; and better had it been for the chriſtian world, if the matter had reſted there; and no attempt made to explain that which is confeſſedly inexplicable. For though faith is founded in reaſon, as it neceſſarily muſt be, whilſt reaſon is the only medium by which we comprehend any moral truth; yet it is ſuperior to reaſon. The doctrine of the trinity is by no means contradictory to reaſon, unleſs it is repugnant to reaſon to aſſent to that which is delivered on divine authority, becauſe we happen not to comprehend the things ſo delivered.

As to the term PERSONS of the godhead, and TRINITY, commonly uſed by chriſtians; if the oracle of the chriſtian faith is not fabulous, we muſt aſcribe the divine attributes to THREE, under the diſtinctions of FATHER, SON,

SON, and HOLY GHOST; and if mankind have thought proper to uſe a word to expreſs the idea, why not that of TRINITY? If the almighty is omnipotent, and we confeſs our faculties utterly incapable of comprehending his power, let us proſtrate ourſelves in humble adoration of the incomprehenſible nature of this ONE ſupreme!

If GOD is incomprehenſible, what religion can there be without ſome part of it myſterious? The MAHOMMEDAN muſt deny the being of a GOD, or confeſs him infinite in juſtice as well as mercy; but does he underſtand how theſe attributes exiſt, and are compatible in one being? We acknowledge the incomprehenſibility of GOD, and therefore there may be a diviſion as well as union in the divine nature. Chriſtians plainly infer ſuch a union and diviſion from their ſcriptures, which cannot be made conſiſtent on any other principles. Is it not then folly to diſtract our thoughts on the ſubject? Is it not enough that we acknowledge one ſupreme GOD the father of all beings; that we confeſs the divine nature and miſſion of the MESSIAH, by whom the almighty made the world, who is the king, the lawgiver, the redeemer, and the ſavior, and will be the judge of mankind; and that we alſo acknowledge the powers aſcribed to the holy ghoſt, the operative ſpirit of that one GOD?

We ſee the reaſon of mankind every day acquieſce in things ſuperior to it's comprehenſion in ſecular concerns. Many things in common life appear to us as contradictions till we underſtand them. Our condition does not permit us to know every thing; it is againſt the laws of our nature, and conſequently a crime to attempt it; thus where our underſtanding is puzzled in the inveſtigation of the things which belong to GOD, we ſhould pay our adoration and ſubmiſſion to the great author of nature, and place our humble and firmeſt confidence in him.

The diſciples of MAHOMMED, and of almoſt every other religion in the world, believe in things not only beyond their comprehenſion, but unimportant to the great ends of human life and immortality. The faith in queſtion is of the greateſt moment; for if JESUS is not the ſon of GOD, the fundamental principle of the chriſtian religion is falſe; but if

this belief is derived from the authority of GOD himſelf, who therefore accepts it as a grateful offering to him, we ought to hold it dearer than life.

Simplicity of heart, which is eſſential to chriſtianity, teaches men what analogy there is between this faith and the humility which the chriſtian religion ſo ſtrongly inculcates; but infidelity is the offſpring of pride. Faith humbles the arrogance of men, and prevents them from deifying, that is, in effect, from abuſing their own reaſon. The corruption of our nature is never ſo conſpicuous as in pride; than which nothing can be more deſtructive of our happineſs.

Pride firſt divided the chriſtian world, and ſtill ſupports the diviſion, and I believe the prieſts themſelves will grant, that had ſome of their fraternity been half as buſy to reſtrain men's curioſities in the myſterious parts of the chriſtian religion, as to attempt the explanation of them, religion might have been more ſimple, and conſequently might have produced the great end of it, by means the moſt eaſy and familiar: but this complaint will appear abſurd when it is conſidered, that the miſtakes of prieſts * bear but a ſmall proportion to thoſe of the laity. If morality is the baſis of the chriſtian religion, and a conſiſtent faith the ſupport of it; where are theſe better taught than in ENGLAND? Of all human compoſitions of theſe latter ages of the world, whether for purity and elegance of language, force of argument, or warmth of devotion, what exceeds the ſermons which have been publiſhed by our clergy? That they are not more read, is not the fault of prieſts, nor will it be their fault if they do not produce the harveſt which no doubt is intended ſhould be gathered in heaven.

To return, it muſt be manifeſt to men of enquiry, that the world remained in ignorance for many ages; and religion conſiſted in forms and empty ceremonies. A revelation was expected, and both the CHRISTIANS and MAHOMMEDANS ſay it is come: we ſee what the different fruits of it are. Was there ever a doctrine delivered to mankind before

* In ENGLAND.

that

that of CHRIST, which pointed out the true path of happineſs, and the end for which they were deſigned? The chriſtian religion has the moſt evident mark of a divine original by the exalted ſentiments and ſublime love it inculcates; by it's cloſe connexion with the general good of mankind, as ſocial, rational, and accountable beings. It is an argument which cannot be repeated too often: what greater love can we conceive than for a man to die for his friend? But CHRIST ſuffered an ignominious death for his enemies, and made that death effectual even to his perſecutors, if they repented and obeyed his laws. For his death was a propitiation for the ſins of the whole world, even for the MAHOMMEDANS. Could a GOD die for leſs than a world? He prepared an immortality for all mankind. But his counſels are inſcrutable, and we know not what degree of evidence reſiſted by men, renders them accountable. But it ſeems agreeable to the common notions of mankind concerning the goodneſs of GOD, that this perfect ſacrifice once made, compenſated for the imperfection of the human nature, and the deviation from it's original purity; ſo that man becomes accountable only in proportion to his rebellion againſt this divine law.

Under this glorious diſpenſation, the innocence and ſimplicity of a child is beſt adapted to learn, and to receive, ſo plain, ſo intelligible a law; which exhorts men with the ſtrongeſt and moſt perſuaſive eloquence, to forſake the paths of perdition, and to be happy. The ſentiments which chriſtianity inſpire, are ſo abſtracted from this world, and from a weak and vicious ſelfiſhneſs, that it is impoſſible to conſider them with an attentive and unprejudiced mind, without being convinced of their reaſonableneſs, and ſtruck with the deepeſt ſenſe of gratitude and reſignation.

Even MAHOMMED underſtood the excellence of the chriſtian religion, when he adopted his precepts of juſtice and charity from the goſpel. But though the MAHOMMEDANS entertain the higheſt notions of the deity, humanly ſpeaking, it will be difficult to reconcile them to chriſtianity, on account of their ſenſual gratifications. The chriſtian religion fixes the boundaries between the animal and rational part, and is calculated to preſerve both. It regards the delights of the mind, and the charms

charms of ſocial converſe, to which the MAHOMMEDANS in their commerce with women are almoſt ſtrangers: for their falſe notions of religion alſo lead them to violate the common rights of humanity, by making ſlaves of one half of the ſpecies.

Chriſtianity is indeed a religion of ſelf-denial, much more than is generally imagined; but it is a ſelf-denial which dignifies and improves human nature; a ſelf-denial that has every mark which reaſon can ſuggeſt, or revelation warrant, of that rule of life and human conduct, which can reſtore man to the original perfection of his nature; or effect that which ſhall compenſate for the deficiency, at the great day of accounts, when TIME ſhall be ſwallowed up in ETERNITY.

As every thinking man in this iſland * ſeems to have ſomething in his notions of religion peculiar to himſelf, it may be objected, that I who have been endeavouring to vindicate chriſtianity with regard to the imputation of idolatry, and to eſtabliſh my own ſyſtem of faith, as founded in the reaſon of things, as well as in revelation, have been ſingular in making no mention of grace. But to this I anſwer, that when men act obediently to the divine law, not only becauſe it is good in itſelf, but alſo becauſe it is commanded by GOD; both motives co-operating, I think they will, humanly ſpeaking, produce a habit of mind, fit for the reception of that grace, which I acknowledge to be the more immediate aſſiſtance of GOD; that aſſiſtance which ſupports, and cheriſhes, and enables man to perſevere in his obedience. From hence I conclude, that faith and good works act reciprocally on each other, neither being effectual without the other to the great end of our being. This, I conceive, may be eaſily deduced from the nature of the human mind; from the common meaſure by which we judge of things, and from the notion of religion in general. Chriſtians who, on one ſide, aſcribe all efficacy to good-works; whilſt others, if poſſible, more inconſiſtent, imagine faith only to be eſſential, ſeem to fall extremely ſhort of the mark. To adopt the principles of both with the ſame zeal as they plead for one only,

* GREAT BRITAIN.

is,

is, I apprehend, to be a chriſtian, if thoſe principles produce their natural fruits.

And let men diſpute ever ſo long concerning human nature, and all it's various connexions, it muſt come to this, that ſo long as we retain our reaſon, we muſt acknowledge a firſt cauſe, or, in other words, that there is a GOD, and conſequently that he made us what we are; and if he is infinite in wiſdom, he made us RIGHT. Men who think it of importance to employ their reaſon about a future ſtate; or endeavour to underſtand their own make; and the end to which they were intended will diſcover, that the conſtitution of our moral nature, our condition with reſpect to externals, and our religion as chriſtians, have all a moſt amazing analogy.

In other words, let him who entertains the leaſt doubt concerning the great truths of chriſtianity, do himſelf the juſtice to obſerve how exactly analogous the law of CHRIST is with the common dictates of humanity; with every generous paſſion of the mind; with every ſentiment which the human breaſt can form that is truly great and noble; he will then ſee, what a ſtate of unmixed happineſs would be reſtored to mankind, was this law univerſally revered and practiſed. The glorious ſyſtem of ethics delivered by our ſaviour on the mount, is calculated to anſwer all the exigencies of our temporal condition; whilſt the main ſcope and deſign of it is to prepare us for a happy termination of it: and ſince death is the unavoidable condition of life, and abſorbs all leſſer conſiderations; an entire reconciliation to it, on the principles of a rational hope of immortality, ought to be the great end of all human actions, and of all the thoughts and devices of the human heart.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

Several converſations with the PERSIANS *on different ſubjects. The tragical hiſtory of prince* BECKOWITZ. *Principal events till the breaking out of a rebellion in* ASTRABAD.

TO return to my narrative. The PERSIANS often took particular notice of the air of my countenance, perhaps imagining that I had ſome apprehenſions of the approaching danger. I told them that my temper diſpoſed me to be thoughtful; but if I underſtood their language, and could converſe without an interpreter, I ſhould probably take a ſhare in every part of their diſcourſe. I then enquired for news, particularly in regard to the rebellions on foot in remote parts of the kingdom, and if it was true that the LESGEES had taken DERBEND, as was reported. This was touching them on a very tender ſtring, and NASEER AGA anſwered haſtily, "We do not talk of thoſe things." The anſwer however made no other impreſſion on me, than that he was reſtrained by ſome prudential reaſon.

On the 8th. The carriers pretended they muſt have camels as well as horſes to convey my caravan, and demanded money of me, to be advanced them on account, that they might go among the neighbouring TURKUMAN TARTARS to buy camels; but I did not chuſe to comply with their requeſt. Other expedients were alſo made uſe of, as if intended purpoſely to delay my departure. Some of the townſmen again demanded of me to open my bales, and ſell them ſome pieces of cloth; but this by no means ſuited my purpoſe, and I rather choſe to make ſeveral of them preſents of 2 ½ gaz[a] of cloth, which is the meaſure they uſually take for a coat. ABDALLAH BEG, the governor's brother, was the moſt importunate for cloth, though he had the leaſt occaſion for it, having loſt his eyes for confederating with RIZA KOULI MYRZA[b], who attempted to deſtroy the king his father two years before this time.

[a] A PERSIAN meaſure of 40 inches. [b] This prince was blinded by NADIR; but ABDALLAH BEG, it was ſaid, by the compliment which his own father made to NADIR, by accuſing his own ſon, in order to be on a level with the SHAH: but I apprehend he was really guilty.

NASEER

NASEER AGA returning again to viſit me, I complained to him of the triſling conduct of the carriers and camel-drivers; he acknowledged it was ſo, adding, that the word of the lower ſort of his countrymen was not to be depended upon; and therefore he would not recommend to me any PERSIAN as a ſervant, agreeable to the requeſt I had before made him. He again took notice to me, in a particular manner, of the ſerious air of my countenance, inſomuch that I thought it neceſſary to make a reply to to this effect: "I obſerve, Sir, you have mentioned this ſubject to me "more than once; you are the beſt judge of my looks; but I think my "countenance is more in fault than my heart. It is true, I am a little "mortified to ſee myſelf trifled with, as if the townſmen did not deſign I "ſhould ever get from hence; but if you mean to admoniſh me, I take it "in good part; and ſhall readily grant, "that a merry heart maketh a chear-"ful countenance." Joy is as eſſential to the happineſs of man as oil to "the flame; a principle which will prove the beſt preſervative againſt the "miſeries of life. Every part of nature ſeems to rejoice: The animal, "and even the vegetable world, proclaim a joy in their exiſtence: how "much more ought man to exult in the comforts, the pleaſures, the glo-"ries of the viſible world; and to triumph in the contemplation of his "own immortality? But is not a ſerious turn of mind eſſential to that "contemplation?

"The appearance of the countenance will generally follow the turn of "mind, allowing for health, and the peculiar air of the face. But a flow of "ſpirits ſeems to be indiſpenſably neceſſary to ſupport the heart in a habit "of joy. The man of a good underſtanding, whoſe ſpirits flow briſkly, "is beſt qualified to think juſtly, eſpecially if from the earlieſt part of his "life he is ſet in the paths of virtue; but theſe advantages ſeldom meet in "one and the ſame perſon. We generally find, that a mediocrity of ſpirits, "is the greateſt friend to an innocent life; and innocence is the parent of that "contentment which lays a good foundation, if it does not conſtitute the "eſſence of joy." The old man now looked ſeriouſly himſelf; he was in labour with an important ſecret, in which I was intimately concerned, though he dared not to tell me of it.

Soon after this converſation two RUSSIAN ſlaves were offered to me for ſale; I had no occaſion for them, nor could I attempt their redemption out of charity; I deſired however to be informed of their misfortunes. They told me they had been taken when young by the OUSBEGS, and ſold to the TURKUMANS. They had ſerved in the expedition of BECKAWITZ the GEORGIAN prince, whoſe ſtory deſerves a place in this journal, as it ſerves to ſhow the great difficulty, if not abſolute impoſſibility of extending a trade among ſo perfidious and barbarous a people as the TARTARS.

PETER the GREAT, amidſt all his ſucceſſes in war, did not neglect the purſuit of commerce. He had already made a ſurvey of the CASPIAN, and formed a deſign of extending his conqueſt beyond SAMARCAND, ſo far at leaſt as to ſecure the LAPIS LAZULI, which is found in that neighbourhood. He had alſo flattered himſelf with the expectation of diſcovering ſome mine of gold. In the valley of SOGD is a river, whoſe ſands abound with gold duſt, which the PERSIANS, as likewiſe the OUSBEGS, and other neighbouring TARTARS, often gather. PERSIA being at this time [b] in great confuſion by the indolence of SHAH SULTAN HUSSEIN; and PETER thinking a ſmall regular force ſufficient for that purpoſe, ſent 3000 men to reconnoitre this country. There was a CIRCASSIAN prince, who, to avoid the miſeries of HUSSEIN's reign, had fled into RUSSIA with his treaſure and family. This prince ſoon died, and his ſon, named ALEXANDER BECKAWITZ, married into one of the greateſt families in that empire. He was now choſen by the emperor PETER to command in this enterprize, as well on account of the bravery of the GEORGIANS, as the particular knowledge this prince was ſuppoſed to have had of the TARTARS.

Beſides the perpetual haraſſments which the TARTARS uſually give a regular army, during a long and laborious march, they often burn up the graſs, and ſpoil the water; therefore to render the way to KHIEVA ſhorter as well as ſafer, PETER ordered a fort to be built at cape KARAGANSKOI, which lies on the north-eaſt coaſt of the CASPIAN ſea. This being done without any interruption, by means of the ſhells

[b] 1716.

and

and ſtones found at that place, and magazines being prepared, BECKAWITZ ventured on his intended diſcovery.

Being arrived near KHIEVA, the OUSBEGS formed a great body to oppoſe him; but as he had a good field artillery they did not chuſe to attack him; on the contrary they accepted his preſents, and promiſed him water and proviſions at a time when his army was greatly diſtreſſed. After receiving the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of the friendſhip and protection of the OUSBEG TARTARS; he was induced to divide his forces into bodies of 2 or 300; theſe treacherous friends pretending that by this means they could ſupply them with proviſions, and enable them to return home with ſafety. Having thus obtained their point, they fell on the deluded RUSSIANS, who became an eaſy prey.

This unhappy prince whom neceſſity or inexperience had drawn into this ſnare, was one of the firſt that fell a ſacrifice to their perfidious barbarity. He was brought before the tent of the KHAN of KHIEVA, and a ſcarlet cloth being ſpread on the ground, as a ſignal of death; they ordered him to kneel down: but he refuſed to comply, ſo that inſtead of ſuffering the eaſy death of loſing his head with a ſtroke of a ſabre, he was hacked on the legs, and butchered in the moſt barbarous manner. As to the forces who had been under his command, many were put to death; ſome remained as ſlaves; and others retained in their ſervice, eſpecially the muſicians, and thoſe who belonged to the artillery, whom they found of uſe in their ſubſequent wars.

To reſume my own ſtory. The 9th, I was again honoured with a numerous levy, more againſt my will than miniſters of ſtate uſually behold a number of ſuitors whom it is not in their power to gratify; for theſe viſits anſwered no other purpoſe than to take up my time. But what ſurprized me moſt, was that the menial ſervants, and ſeveral of the common people, were admitted to croud round the AIVAN [c], and be privy to the converſation. This was the leſs agreeable to me, as their conduct had given them no title to the knowledge of my deſigns. I had an opportunity of obſerving, that perſons of the beſt quality among them were very ig-

[c] The largeſt apartment in the PERSIAN houſes, which is open on one ſide.

norant of the affairs of EUROPE: one of the moſt intelligent having heard of the fatal cataſtrophe which happened the preceding ſummer to ſeveral perſons of diſtinction in RUSSIA, inquired if they were puniſhed for being of the PERSIAN party; though I believe no ſuch party exiſted in RUSSIA.

On the 10th. A freſh difficulty now aroſe, for our camel-drivers alledged that they could not keep company with the horſes; and therefore they muſt ſet out two or three days before. I knew not how to reconcile myſelf to the thoughts of ſeparating my company: however, the importunity of NASEER AGA, and the pretended neceſſity of the thing, induced me to conſent. Accordingly I delivered 40 bales, the loads of ten camels, and fixed my own departure with the remainder of the caravan for the 14th. I ſent an ARMENIAN ſervant to attend the camels, and appointed a certain rendezvous, which was on the other ſide of the moſt difficult paſſes in the mountains. On the 12th, I made a viſit to the governor, who was much leſs courteous to me than he had hitherto been, and appeared perplexed in his thoughts. It was ſaid, that he was providing horſes to ſend the king's treaſure conſiſting of 17,000 crowns to CASBIN; he now told me he was ſo bare of ſoldiers, he could not ſpare me more than one. This ſtartled me, for I was previouſly determined to have demanded a greater number than he had at firſt appointed me; eſpecially as I was obliged to ſeparate my company; however I could not make any impreſſions on him. It ſeemed to me ſtrange, that a caravan of 17,000 crowns in money ſhould require ſo great a guard, and that to one of 30,000 crowns in cloth, a ſingle ſoldier was ſufficient. I was ignorant of the ſecret, and my ignorance conſtituted my happineſs at that time. I took my leave of the governor, deſiring him to continue me under his protection, and aſſiſt me with his advice, in any article he might think neceſſary.

The 14th, My firſt detachment departed. I intending to follow them immediately, and had prepared KEDGAVAYS; theſe are a kind of covered chairs, which the PERSIANS hang over camels in the manner of panniers, and are big enough for one perſon to ſit in. By this means I could accommodate any of my company if they ſhould happen to fall ſick, and pro-

provide for my own ſecurity againſt the extremity of the cold. At length by the interpoſition of NASEER AGA, I obtained a promiſe from the governor, that two ſoldiers ſhould accompany the firſt detachment of my caravan. The next day in the evening they ſet lights at the head and feet of the graves of their departed friends, round which they led ſheep by the horns, in commemoration of ABRAHAM's offering up his ſon ISMAEL; for they do not allow it was ISAAC.

I was now preparing to leave this city, the firſt I had ſeen in PERSIA, and of which I had received very diſagreeable impreſſions. Whilſt I was giving the neceſſary orders, my friend NASEER AGA came to acquaint me that it was not a lucky hour, and therefore I muſt not depart. I told him if he had no other reaſon, that I was one of thoſe chriſtians who do not regard lucky hours, but depending on that good providence which at all times governs the world, I begged I might be permitted to depart. He replied in a very definitive manner, that I muſt not ſet out. I thought it proper to ſubmit, from the aſſurance I had always received of the integrity of his intentions, though I imputed this repugnance to his ſuperſtition.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

A rebellion breaks out in the province of ASTRABAD. *The author is in diſtreſs. A prayer. The city taken, and the caravan deſigned for* MESCHED *plundered.*

THE 15th of January 1744, the diſmal ſcene now began to diſcloſe itſelf; for NASEER AGA had hardly left me when I heard the hoarſe ſound of trumpets: this was an alarm to call in the neighbouring inhabitants, and to bring their cattle with them. The ſhops were ordered to be ſhut up, and the townſmen to repair to the walls, to put them in a condition of defence. I now began to recollect a thouſand incidents which diſcovered the play which was about to be acted; but it was in vain to wiſh myſelf on board ſhip, or to entertain melancholy thoughts of this commercial project. NASEER AGA returned immediately, and adviſed me to ſend for my ſhip, acknowledging that he thought we were all in danger from the rebellion which had broke out in the neighbourhood of the city. This propoſal however could not be put in execution; for the ſhip was then either at ENZELLEE or DERBEND. I deſired him to ſend for my ten camel-loads of cloth already on the road to be returned into the city; but he told me,

me, that no perſon was admitted to go out of the gates. The governor being apprehenſive of a confederacy within the walls, as well as that which was already formed without, ordered a ſtrong guard to patrol the ſtreets.

The ſecret now came out, that MAHOMMED HASSAN BEG, whom I have already obſerved, to have been under the governor's inſpection, had left the city ſome days before, and now appeared in arms at the head of a party of KHAJARS [a], with an auxiliary body of TURKUMAN TARTARS. MAHOMMED KHAN [b] BEG and SADOC AGA, the two young men of diſtinction, who were with the governor when I went firſt to ſee him, had joined MAHOMMED HASSAN BEG, unanimouſly declaring that they meant to poſſeſs themſelves of the city, of the king's treaſure, and particularly of my caravan; and the better to delude themſelves, and the unhappy townſmen, they gave out that the SHAH was dead.

The 16th, MAHOMMED ZAMON BEG the governor ſent two couriers into KHORASAN to bring forces to his aſſiſtance. At the ſame time he ordered ten ſoldiers to guard the ten camels loaded with my cloth back into the city; this however was but an idle expedient, as the enemy was already poſſeſſed of all the avenues, and the goods actually lodged in a village the property of MAHOMMED KHAN BEG. The only comfort which NASEER AGA now gave us, was, that whilſt he lived they ſhould not touch our lives. He had been one of the chief adviſers of Mr. ELTON, a few months before, to attempt this rout to MESCHED, which indeed was according to the original plan, as already mentioned [c]. The old man was now perfectly ſenſible of the dangers which threatened us. The reſpect which had been always ſhewn him by MAHOMMED HASSAN BEG, and his thoughtleſs followers, who had embarked in this deſperate enterprize, induced him to venture among them, and to endeavour to diſſuade them from ſo raſh and perilous an undertaking: They ſuffered him to return, but he made not any impreſſion on them. Hitherto he had appeared undaunted; but now ſpoke ſhort, and was impatient of

[a] The inhabitants of this province are ſo called. [b] KHAN is here a name, though otherwiſe underſtood as a title. [c] See p. 50.

being

being queſtioned. His whole mind and perſon looked diſturbed, as if he was that night to render up his accounts for all his paſt life; and for the years that had rendered his beard ſo venerably hoary.

A beſieged city incapable of defence, a faithleſs and weak garriſon, were things as new to me, as PERSIA and PERSIANS; but the notion I had entertained of the TURKUMAN TARTARS, and their barbarity of manners, made the worſt impreſſion on me. I did not conceive what purpoſe it would anſwer for them to commit any violence on my perſon, for it could not conceal their robbery; nor had I any apprehenſion their rebellion could be ſupported; but the report was, that they would put us to the ſword. My attendants recommended my diſguiſing myſelf in a PERSIAN habit; but I choſe to remain in my proper ſhape and character, which I could ſupport much better. Reports now crowded on each other, that the rebel army had advanced within a ſhort diſtance; ſo that the governor and NASEER AGA, jealous of their own ſafety, and of the impoſſibility of defending the city, diſguiſed themſelves in the habits of peaſants, and mounting on horſeback, each behind a real peaſant, made their eſcape in the night.

The diſtreſs and miſery in which theſe infatuated people were involving themſelves, ſeemed to me the moſt intereſting ſubject. Thoſe who were not diſpoſed to rebellion, now curſed me as the cauſe of the evils they foreſaw; alledging that if I had not brought ſo valuable a caravan to ASTRASAD, the people had not rebelled. Perhaps I was an inſtrument of providence in the chaſtiſement of theſe unhappy men, but I had nothing to reproach myſelf with on this account; and in this general calamity I knew not in how great a degree I might partake, and therefore thought it neceſſary to prepare for all events. The flattering expectation I had entertained, that as the enemy had no artillery, the town might be eaſily defended till ſuccour ſhould be brought, induced me to lay in a quantity of proviſion; but this was vain; we had nothing left but to receive our conquerors, and ſubmit to their pleaſure.

In

In the evening I retired to my apartment to indulge my own meditations, not forgetting my ordinary practice of writing. Without the aſſiſtance of my pen I could not trace out the whole connexion of my thoughts, nor properly digeſt them; and the occaſion was now very important. What I find in my journal is to this effect, and pretty near the ſame words.

"O beneficent father, thou tender parent and univerſal lord of ALL! "I beſeech thee to hear the prayer which in the deepeſt humiliation of "my ſoul I now make before thee.

"O GOD! whom have I to truſt in, but thee: thou haſt been my ſuc- "cour through all the perils and viciſſitudes of my life, even from my mo- "ther's breaſt. If it is thy good pleaſure yet to preſerve my life; let "all my future hopes, and all my wiſhes, center in thee alone; let the "remembrance of all thy mercies inſpire my mind with the moſt ardent "love, the moſt exalted gratitude; let the tender laws of humanity "ever poſſeſs my ſoul, and render me acceptable in thy ſight, through "the merits of thy dear SON, who died to redeem the world.

"But if thy gracious providence has ordained that my life be now "brought to an end by theſe unthinking men, thy will be done. Avert, "O lord, the deſtruction that threatens them, and lay not my blood to "their charge.

"I tremble, O lord, at thy juſtice; but thy goodneſs and paternal "love, thy tender, boundleſs mercy is extended to all thy works: ſuffer "me not to periſh. And thou, my redeemer, who cameſt into the world "to ſave ſinners, I graſp thy bleſſed feet. O, reject me not, reject me "not, thou GOD of mercy; let my remembrance of thy life and ſuffer- "ings, thy agonies and ignominious death for the ſins of mankind, now "ſupport and ſecure me in thy favour; and by thy reſurrection and aſ- "cenſion, by thy ever prevailing merits and interceſſion at the throne of "the almighty, procure that pardon, without which I am undone.

"O omniſcient father, who knoweſt all the circumſtances of human "life, and the evils to which it is expoſed: Thou who knoweſt the "ſecrets of men's hearts, and all their inmoſt thoughts, I beſeech thee "call to mind the laborious, though imperfect ſtruggles of my life to "ſubdue myſelf to a ſincere obedience to thy laws, as the ſupreme object "of my wiſhes. If I have done any thing acceptable in thy ſight, O "remember it in thy infinite goodneſs and compaſſion, whilſt thy mercy "eraſes all record of the numberleſs follies, and infirmities of my life; "and of all the offences I have been guilty of againſt thee.

"Support me, O lord of mercy, in the remembrance of that boundleſs "favour and tender love, which thou haſt ſhewn to all the ſons of men, "through all ages of the world.

"Enable me, O bleſſed lord, to fix my heart on thee. Let no object "diſtract my mind, or weaken my attention. Awe me with fear, and "prevent my preſumptuous thoughts; yet fill my heart with an entire "confidence in thy mercy; warm it with a ſeraphic fire, and prepare my "ſpirit for thy tremendous preſence.

"If it is thy will that I now render back this vital heat and motion, "which ſprang from thee, great author of life, and ſupporter of this ſu-"pendous world! If my hour is come, O ſuccour me in the ſecret paths "of death; and thou, O bleſſed redeemer of the world, receive me in-"to the glory thou haſt prepared for thy ſervants."

I had ordered a watch to be kept all night, that I might not be ſur-prized; and after employing myſelf in as proper a manner as I could up-on ſo intereſting an occaſion till 11; I ſlept till 4 in the morning. I was then awakened by a briſk, but irregular diſcharge of muſquetry. A ſi-lence enſued, from whence I concluded the city was delivered up to MA-HOMMED HASAN BEG, and, to my great comfort, it proved ſo: had any fruitleſs reſiſtance been made, the beſiegers would probably have carried things to the greater extremities. As I heard no tumult, I flattered myſelf that the rebels would not proceed to any ſlaughter, and that the cap-ture of my merchandize would content them. The 17th, MAHOMMED

HASSAN

HASSAN BEG no ſooner entered the town, than he ſought for MAHOMMED ZAMON BEG the late governor, for his father MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN had ſome years before delivered FATEY ALI KHAN, the father of the preſent rebel chief, to NADIR, by whom he was put to death: the governor however had been too ſenſible of his danger to wait the arrival of the rebels.

Noiſe and merriment ſeemed neceſſary to ſupport the ſpirits of thoſe who had embarked in this deſperate enterprize. They ſeized the city-drums, and a large party went about beating them and hollowing: at the ſame time they drove before them the CALENTER [a], and another perſon, both naked, and demanded the SHAH's treaſure, which MAHOMMED ZAMON BEG had carefully concealed before his departure.

It was now my turn to receive a viſit from them, and hear my fate. SADOC AGA, who was appointed a general [b] with MAHOMMED KHAN BEG, both young men of more fire than judgment, headed a party of 14 armed perſons of the beſt diſtinction among them, and came to my houſe. I had collected my ſervants in one room, from whence I ſent a little boy a ſervant, who underſtood the TURKISH language, which is moſt known to the KHAJARS, to conduct theſe hoſtile viſiters to us, and to tell them, that as we were at their mercy, we hoped they would treat us with humanity. They immediately entered, and aſſured us, they did not mean to hurt us; on the contrary, that as ſoon as their government was eſtabliſhed, they would pay me for my goods. They demanded at the ſame time where they were lodged; and informed me that the 40 bales, which I had ſent out of the town ſome days before, were already in their poſſeſſion. MAHOMMED KHAN BEG then demanded my purſe, which I had prepared with about thirty crowns in gold and ſilver: he contented himſelf for the preſent with counting it, and then returned it to me, demanding if I had any more; for that it would be the worſe for me if I concealed any. I thought it warrantable however to make an evaſive anſwer,

[a] Town-clerk and collector of the city, who acted as ſub-governor. [b] SERDAR.

though it was a true one as to the fact; viz. that all the town knew very well I had been ſearching for money in exchange for my bill on Mr. ELTON, not having ſufficient to convey my caravan to MESCHED. As gold can purchaſe any thing except virtue and health, underſtanding and beauty, I thought it might now adminiſter to our ſafety. I therefore reſerved a purſe of 160 crowns in gold; apprehending that the ſkilful application of it might ward off the danger which threatened us; but I afterwards found that our ſecurity was in our ſuppoſed poverty; for in near three weeks diſtreſs I durſt not ſhew a ſingle piece of gold, much leſs acknowledge that I had ſaved any money.

I had here an opportunity to conſider the admirable leſſons of morality, which the MAHOMMEDANS teach by example and practice, whilſt the chriſtians hold the theory in great veneration. A MAHOMMEDAN, who is a general to-day, and a common ſoldier to-morrow, ſays, IT IS THE WILL OF GOD. Far from laying violent hands on himſelf, he thinks it at leaſt as honourable to ſubmit, and ſhew obedience to the decrees of heaven, as he did in the meridian of his power, to obey the commands of his ſovereign.

Finding things conducted with ſome appearance of juſtice, I now turned my thoughts on the kindneſs of providence in bringing this event about in the city, rather than upon the road, where it was highly improbable I ſhould have received ſuch gentle treatment. My drooping ſpirits revived, and I conſidered how beſt to extricate myſelf. I was now more than ever inclined to that opinion, that the mind of man is ſo formed as naturally to employ itſelf in the purſuit of pleaſure, and that it's operations, when they have their true biaſs, have always a repugnancy to pain. Upon the ſame principle it will turn itſelf from a view of the evils of life, and fly off, as it were, on the wings of reſignation and hope to a ſcene of comfort and delight. Sorrow, which is not in in it's final iſſue productive of joy, ſeems to belong to man, only as his reaſon becomes obſcured by accidents, that is, by an irreligious or melancholy diſpoſition. The ſaviour of mankind, though perfect, was indeed "a man of ſorrows, and acquainted with grief;" but it was for the ſins

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of the world for which he mourned; his ſorrows are changed into everlaſting joy, and were intended to change ours alſo into a happy immortality. Thus the goodneſs of the great lord of nature is obvious to a degree of amazement; for if by a natural propenſity of the ſoul we turn from ſorrow and the evils of life, and fix the mind on the remedies of thoſe evils; and if there is no evil but religion points out the remedy alſo; even when we are ſurrounded with bitter calamities; what conſolation might not this afford? What joy can exceed that, of acting under the care and protection of the tender parent of mankind, who can no more mean to hurt us unoffending, than he can ceaſe his own exiſtence; nor can he, without trials, give us an opportunity of virtue; nor without virtue, is it conſiſtent to imagine we are the objects of his love. Happy were it for the world, if the trials of proſperity had ordinarily the ſame iſſue as thoſe of diſtreſs, which ſoften the heart to a ſenſe of obedience. Ingratitude, which is twin-born with pride, and the genuine offspring of the corruption of human nature, ſometimes predominates moſt, where moſt thanks are due to heaven; and this by the connection there is between the gratification of uncorrected paſſions and appetites, and the means of ſuch gratifications; ſo that what men call proſperity is a bleſſing, or a curſe, juſt as it is uſed.

With reflections like theſe I endeavoured to turn the edge of this misfortune, and as much as poſſible to convert it into an occaſion of good. The greateſt indignity I had yet experienced, was that of being ſhut out of the habitable part of my houſe, and particularly my chamber, and the uſe of my baggage; my magazine of merchandize, I had of courſe given up. There was alſo great reaſon to apprehend ſome irregular proceedings from the ſoldiers, particularly the TURKUMANS: I therefore deſired that a guard might be appointed, not for the ſecurity of our perſons only, but to preſerve from any violation, the ſeal which they fixed on the door of the warehouſe, where the cloth was depoſited. They declared this to be a very reaſonable requeſt, and immediately gave the neceſſary orders.

It was but natural to apprehend they would now proceed to ſome executions in cold blood; but, to my great ſurprize and ſatisfaction, I found they

they had put only one man to death: this perſon, by a very ſingular work of providence, was a groom belonging to MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, who under his maſter's direction, had been the actual executioner of TAHMAS SHAH, their laſt lawful king. This man, now falling into the hands of theſe rebels, fell alſo a ſacrifice to their juſt reſentments. I was greatly ſurprized to obſerve with what facility the late ſubjects of NADIR, and the ſervants of the late governor, profeſſed an entire devotion to the new chief MAHOMMED HASSAN BEG, whom they ſtiled their KHAN[1].

The 18th, It was now very apparent on what principles HAIDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED had acted; he was in the ſecret of the rebellion from the time of my arrival, and brought me to the town under the higheſt profeſſions of friendſhip, as a ſheep to the ſlaughter. However it was my buſineſs to diſguiſe my ſentiments; for as I had nothing there to loſe but my life, or liberty, I had nothing elſe to think of: I therefore ſtill behaved to the HAIDGEE, as to one on whom I depended; and, inſtead of reproaching him, I entreated of him to recover of the carriers the money I had advanced them, if their KHAN would permit it, alledging that neither myſelf nor my ſervants could live upon the air; for I concealed the money I had ſaved. He repreſented the caſe, and obtained a recovery of about 150 crowns, part of which he returned to us in ſuch proportions as he thought proper, to provide for the common neceſſaries of life.

CHAP. XXXI.

The author engages the friendſhip of the rebel-governor, who holds a council about the diviſion of the plunder. He is in danger of being carried as a ſlave into TURKUMANIA. *He leaves* ASTRABAD.

BABA SADOC, a perſon of extraordinary ſtature and comelineſs, was now appointed governor of the city: the generous air of this man's countenance was the very picture of humanity. As he had great authority among

[1] Lord.

among the rebels, I entreated him to be reſtored to the uſe of my chamber and baggage, having had no better lodging the night before than a mat in my kitchin, which was open to the air. Beſides the money already mentioned, I took the precaution to conceal half a piece of rich ſilk, expecting by this means to procure the kindneſs of ſome perſon in power; and accordingly I conveyed to BABA SADOC, as the poor remains of my plundered fortunes, as much of this as would make a PERSIAN dreſs. He bid me be comforted, aſſured me that no harm ſhould happen to me, and immediately ordered the ſeal to be taken off my chamber door; but at the ſame time he enjoined me to obſerve the ſtricteſt ſecreſy, with regard to the preſent I had made him; for the chiefs already began to be jealous of each other about the diviſion of the ſpoil; and the more as they had not yet diſcovered the SHAH's treaſure. The 19th in the morning MAHOMMED KHAN BEG and SADOC AGA, with a train of attendants, came to my houſe, and carried off ſeveral bales, concealing others in different apartments, with a deſign to convey them away at night. One of the company expoſtulated with them, as if they had no authority for what they did: but they, conſidering themſelves upon an equality with their leader, laughed at the admonition. This gave me the ſtronger apprehenſion of the ruin which hung over the heads of theſe raſh young men.

MAHOMMED KHAN BEG, who had before returned me my purſe, now demanded it back with the ſame menacing language. However I thought it neceſſary to be ſilent upon that ſubject, having had already given him an anſwer. Upon this occaſion SADOC AGA pointed at me with an inſulting ſmile, deſiring his friend to obſerve my appearance, as if he meant to ridicule my diſtreſs. About noon they aſſembled at my houſe, where they demanded a regular account of all my cloth, which I accordingly delivered to them. Some difficulties being ſtarted with regard to the meaſure; the perſon objecting was ſoon ſilenced by a general declaration, that the CHRISTIANS are very regular, as well as juſt, in their dealings.

MAHOMMED KHAN BEG then introduced two of the TURKUMAN chiefs. Theſe were the greateſt objects of my fear, but they were no leſs

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ſo of my contempt. Their habits were very coarſe, and their countenance yet more hard and ill-favoured. They pulled off their boots, and came with naked feet on the carpet, where they were received with great diſtinction by the KHAJARS, who conducted them to the ſeat of honour. MAHOMMED KHAN BEG, turning towards me, ſaid, "Theſe are the pillagers of countries, who ſow devaſtation where-ever they go: you may now conſider them as your merchants." The TURKUMANS added, "You give us the merchandize of the RUSSIANS (for ſo they called us) will you not give us the RUSSIANS alſo?" To which ſeveral of the KHAJARS replied, particularly BABA SADOC, "What can you do with them?" They anſwered, "They will do well to keep our ſheep." I was armed in a confidence of ſecurity from the promiſes I had received of protection; but this declaration of the TURKUMANS increaſed my impatience to leave the city at ſome rate or other. The aſſembly then conſulted publicly, and without the leaſt reſerve, how they ſhould divide the ſpoil, and broke up ſeemingly well ſatisfied with their prize.

The perplexity which I obſerved in their councils, gave me very melancholy preſages of their approaching fate. I had the ſatisfaction at the ſame time of thinking there was the leſs danger of their conquering all the ſouthern coaſt of the CASPIAN, and conſequently that the ENGLISH factory at GHILAN might eſcape falling into their hands.

The governor of the next province of MAZANDERAN had been in confederacy with them; but upon their inviting him to take arms, he returned for anſwer, "That they might ſleep in the bed which they had made." My great anxiety was in what manner I ſhould get out of their hands. I was firmly of opinion, that their reign could be only for a few weeks; and that either the city would be beſieged by the SHAH's forces, and the inhabitants put to the ſword, or the rebels would be beat in the field. But every way I ſaw danger; for if they left the city behind them, they might, in their retreat to the deſerts of TURKUMANIA, carry us off with every thing they could find: and even if they ſucceeded, the TURKUMAN party and intereſt would increaſe, and I ſhould be carried a ſlave into their barbarous country.

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The PERSIANS and KHAJARS, who had a higher ſenſe of honour and humanity, knew that whatever motives might induce them to rebel againſt their ſovereign, they had no right to rob me. Hence they expreſſed an anxious concern for my ſecurity, and charged me very ſtrictly to conceal myſelf as much as poſſible from the TURKUMANS. MAHOMMED HASSAN himſelf ſeemed deſirous to ſave us from any further misfortune, and promiſed to grant us a paſſport. In times of inteſtine commotions the country abounds with flying parties of robbers; moreover, the peaſants of MAZANDERAN were expected to be in arms; ſo that HAHDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED, into whoſe hands neceſſity had obliged me to throw myſelf, repreſented the great hazard we ſhould be expoſed to in attempting to return to GHILAN; for which reaſon he recommended our retiring to ſome ſecret place in the neighbouring mountains, where the PERSIANS, upon ſuch occaſions, frequently conceal themſelves. I had no ſuſpicion of his being ſuch a villain as to have a deſign againſt my life; however, I had no opinion of his propoſal, and rather choſe to go openly out of the city with ſuch a guard as I could procure. In this I was oppoſed by my interpreter, and all my ſervants, alledging if I inſiſted on putting our eſcape to any ſuch iſſue, they would not attend me. With regard to them, I was in the ſame circumſtances as a maſter in reſpect to his mariners after his ſhip is wrecked: but whether it was from their greater experience, or not, their fears ran very high.

The 19th, My interpreter MATTEUSE went to MAHOMMED HASSAN, to thank him for the protection I had received from him, and to beg the continuance of it. The prices of the cloth being demanded of the interpreter, according to the intimation he had received for that purpoſe from the KHAJARS, he mentioned twenty per cent more than the real value; that the TURKUMAN chiefs, who were then in MAHOMMED HASSAN's tent, might receive the higher impreſſion of the preſents he had made them. Theſe TARTAR allies having now received the price of their friendſhip, and expecting little more than the event of a battle, began to murmur and talk of returning to their deſerts. This conduct might naturally be expected of thoſe who came only as dogs to a bone,

and have much leſs fidelity than is uſually found in that animal. Several of the common TURKUMANS intruded themſelves into my houſe, pretending a curioſity to ſee us; but as I afterwards learnt, their real intention was to conſult by what means they might carry us off.

Fear now taking place of tumultuous joy, the gates of the city were ordered to be ſhut, and no perſon to paſs in or out without the knowledge of MAHOMMED HASSAN; ſo that they already ſeemed to repent of their conduct. In the evening I firſt obſerved the comet which appeared at this time in the heavens, and was now a little to the ſouth-weſt of my habitation.

The 20th, SADOC AGA declared that in a day or two he intended to make incurſions into MAZANDERAN, which was alſo ripe for a revolt; but the inhabitants of that province had too mean an opinion of the ASTRABAD chiefs, to declare in their favour. HAHDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED, who had hitherto magnified the difficulties of my eſcape, now repreſented it more practicable. With regard to the rebellion he had pulled off the maſk intirely, by the great joy he expreſſed upon a report, that 4000 deſerters from the SHAH's camp were come in to their aſſiſtance: an event which appeared highly improbable. But ſuch was the infatuation of thoſe miſerable people, that they greedily ſwallowed down this news, which was one inſtance of that fatal credulity, which induced them to take up arms. The 4000 men in fact, proved only to be four OUSBEG couriers, whom the SHAH had ſent to KHIEVA for recruits, and were now in their way thither. Theſe men boldly reported that the SHAH had a great army not far from GHILAN.

The TURKUMANS were already exceeding clamorous, pretending that they had been promiſed the value of 40,000 crowns in cloth, and a conſiderable ſum of money, which they affirmed they had not received in any ſuch proportion, notwithſtanding the SHAH's treaſure of 17,000 crowns had been at length diſcovered. Upon this ſeveral quarrels enſued, in which one of the TURKUMANS was cut to pieces, this induced a conſiderable body of them to retire from the camp. In the interim a certain

tain woman, in an enthuſiaſtic, and indeed prophetic rage, ran about the ſtreets beating her breaſt, and tearing her hair; ſaying, "now for "this T——d of a KHAN*, will this poor city be put to the ſword!"

MAHOMMED KHAN BEG was very inquiſitive when I intended to ſet out on my journey to GHILAN. This gave me ſome uneaſineſs; for the treatment I had received from him, and the great encomiums he had beſtowed on the TURKUMAN chiefs, made me ſuſpect, that he would not ſcruple to point out to them by what means they might carry us off, ſince they could not obtain us by the general conſent of the KHAJARS.

On the 21ſt, The news of the plunder brought an additional reinforcement of one hundred TURKUMANS to the rebel-camp, who from an impatient deſire each had of being the firſt in paying his reſpects to MAHOMMED HASSAN, created ſome diſturbance. In the mean while, as they before challenged us in relation to our faith as CHRISTIANS, we were now repreſented by ſome ſuperſtitious or malicious perſons, as men who did not believe in the ſupreme BEING; and indeed I was apprehenſive that they meant to draw from this principle a reaſon for diſpoſing of us in what manner they pleaſed, without the violation of any divine law. This was an opinion of a dangerous tendency, but too groſs to be ſwallowed by the wiſer part of them. The rebels had already taken our TARTAR boy, and detained him for ſome time: this increaſed the panic of the reſt of my ſervants, who at length reſolved to ſhare my fortune in getting out of the town. I was the more impatient to ſee myſelf free of all impediment, as I determined to ſeek the SHAH, and appeal to him for juſtice; though I dared not at that time to talk of any ſuch matter.

The 22d, My interpreter delivered to MAHOMMED HASSAN a regular account of the real value of the goods; and the better to carry on the farce, deſired a bill of him for the amount; which he accordingly gave. After we had engaged the HAHDGEE to provide us ten of his armed villagers as a guard, and agreed for horſes to carry us, we determined to leave the town the next day a little before ſun-riſing.

* Meaning MAHOMMED HASSAN the rebel-chief.

CHAP. XXXII.

The author arrives at BALFRUSH, *and joins a party of the* SHAH'S *forces; he is obliged to leave his interpreter and ſervants at* BALFRUSH. *The ſeveral adventures which befel him in retiring before the* TURKUMAN TARTARS.

IT was not till the 24th of January that we took our leave of ASTRABAD, under the convoy of the HAHDGEE, his brother, his two ſons, and about twenty armed villagers. Juſt without the gates we met a party of 50 perſons gallantly dreſſed, well mounted and armed, who were come from MAZANDERAN to join the rebels: I could not but conſider them as ſo many victims to their own folly and raſhneſs. We carried with us all our baggage, and even our arms, and arrived ſafe after a day's journey at KOORDIEMALLA, a village belonging to the HAHDGEE. His brother, whoſe character was not the moſt amiable, would have conducted us to his houſe in the adjacent mountain; but we abſolutely refuſed to go; in which reſolution we were confirmed by the carriers, who expreſſed their fears of him by ſaying: "GOD only "knows of his ſecret retirements."

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It was my intention to have refreſhed myſelf and horſes, and then to have proceeded by the moſt ſecret roads without taking up my lodging with the HAHDGEE, eſpecially as I knew that SADOC AGA was the next day to make an incurſion into MAZANDERAN with a party of TARTARS by the common rout. The HAHDGEE had otherwiſe determined: he imagined I was yet poſſeſſed of ſome things of value, and thought it inconſiſtent with his intereſt to ſuffer me to carry them off. His demure countenance, and ſtrict obſervance of the letter of the law, ſhewed him to be a true PHARISEE; for his pretence to a more than common ſanctity, was but the greater violation of ſubſtantial virtue. He had now got us into his poſſeſſion, and made no ſcruple to declare, that he would not anſwer for our ſafety a ſingle mile further; and that the carriers, who were under his juriſdiction, ſhould not proceed with us, unleſs I left my baggage with him. He mentioned at the ſame time a ſilver-mounted bridle, ſome gold ſtuff, plate, and other things, which he ſuppoſed were yet in my poſſeſſion. I repreſented to him my impatience to proceed, and that I would run all hazards: but he replied with a treacherous ſmile, "YOU ARE VERY WISE." This crafty old man, whoſe perfidiouſneſs was exceeded by nothing but his hypocriſy, determined to play a cunning game. If the rebellion ſucceeded, he would make a prize of my baggage; and if it did not ſucceed, he would plead his loyalty by preſerving it for me, under the pretence of affording protection to a perſon, of whoſe circumſtances he knew very well the SHAH muſt be minutely acquainted, if I eſcaped with my life. To prove a man to be a villain by pulling off the maſk, in which he thinks himſelf diſguiſed, oftentimes makes him ſuch in a more deſperate degree; ſo that I was afraid to reproach him, leſt I ſhould bring on a worſe evil than the loſs of my baggage; for he pretended all the while to be highly intereſted for my ſafety. I ſaw myſelf entirely at his mercy, and was apprehenſive if I had taken my baggage from his houſe, I ſhould not be able to keep it long from other thieves, who might not be ſo civil in their manners as this courtly robber. The HAHDGEE having entertained us handſomely at ſupper, I retired to my apartment, where I determined to play the game which he had taught me, though upon very different principles. I cut off the ſilver from my bridle,

bridle, with the trimmings from my cloaths, and alſo concealed what little plate I had. Not knowing how to diſpoſe of ſome yards of rich ſilk which I had brought off from ASTRABAD, without a ſuſpicion of having concealed things of value, I now delivered it to my ſervant, who wrapped it round his body. Thus hiding every thing that was portable in a ſmall compaſs, I ſealed up the remainder.

Early the next morning I delivered the groſs of my baggage to the HAHDGEE, who was very deſirous to know why I ſealed it up. I told him ſmiling, "It is uſual among EUROPEANS, when they leave any "thing in the cuſtody of A FRIEND, to uſe this method." I then deſired he would reſtore me my money which remained in his hands, "otherwiſe, AFTER ALL HIS FRIENDSHIP, I muſt periſh on my journey;" for though he knew moſt of my affairs, yet he was ignorant that I had ſaved any money. The ſum due from the HAHDGEE was about 150 crowns, as already mentioned, of which he had the charity to pay me about ſixty, twenty of which was in bad money; and to make up for the inconvenience he ſuffered in this CHARITABLE payment, he robbed me of the only horſe I had, not belonging to the carriers; at leaſt the horſe was not to be found the next morning, and I went away without him.

We advanced through by-paths about 20 ENGLISH miles, without any apparent danger; for the few peaſants whom we ſaw at different times, ran from us into the woods, taking us for enemies; and that night we lay in the open fields. The 26th, After travelling over ditches, and through pathleſs woods, we arrived at a ruined cottage, which was however very acceptable to us in our condition. The greateſt concern I had was to prevent the SHACKALLS from running away with my accoutrements: theſe animals, with which the woods abound, are remarkably fond of leather: they are alſo very domeſtic, inſomuch that ſeveral of them paſſed over my bed during the night. I was determined to part with my conductors as ſoon as convenient; for they ſowed rebellion wherever they went. The little children in the villages, taking us for TARTARS, called out "TURKUMANÆ;" as if they meant to receive us as their DELIVERERS. The people every where complained aloud, that the

SHAH

SHAH had reduced them to the extremeſt miſery *. We paſſed by the ruins of the palace at FARABAD, once famous for the reſidence of the PERSIAN kings. This city having been often plundered by the TURKUMANS, is now abandoned; there being only a few PERSIAN and ARMENIAN inhabitants. From hence we paſſed to a little village upon a lake, where ſeveral peaſants ſupport themſelves by catching wild ducks. They go in boats during the night, near the marſhy banks, whith are covered wih ruſhes, and carry great lights on the ſtern; then ringing a number of ſmall bells, the birds are confounded, and fly into their very hands.

The carriers had engaged to conduct us to BALFRUSH, the capital of MAZANDERAN, which was yet about 20 miles diſtant; but hearing that MAHOMMED KHAN, the admiral of the ſea-coaſts, was levying forces to oppoſe the ASTRABAD rebels, they would not proceed with me any farther. I was in a country ſurrounded by marſhes, where no horſes, nor any other cattle were to be had, and therefore deſired they would at leaſt conduct me to ſome place where we could procure horſes; but this they alſo refuſed, alledging, that as we were near the ſea, we might go by water. Accordingly, the 27th in the morning, they conducted us to a poor fiſherman's hut on the ſea-coaſt; he had a canoe, which was very leaky, and too ſmall for ſix perſons; beſides, it could be navigated only with oars near the ſhore, where the ſurf ran ſo high, that I had no conception how it was poſſible for ſuch a boat to convey us 20 miles. I therefore repeated my inſtances to the carriers, that they would either find me horſes according to their engagement, or at leaſt carry me where I

* Mr. OTTER of the academy of PARIS, who travelled in PERSIA a few years before this time, mentions a remarkable ſpeech which was made him by a poor peaſant, when he queſtioned him why he did not cloath his daughter better. "You," ſays the peaſant, "aſk this queſtion much at your eaſe; "but I fancy you do not know NADIR SHAH. Inſtead of thinking of our cloaths, it is well if we "can get a morſel of bread: Are we not obliged to ſell all we have to find him money, and prevent "our being baſtonaded to death? They now demand of me three TOMANS (30 crowns) I know not "where to get them: My cattle, my flocks, and my moveables are already carried off by the SHAH's "collectors (MUHASILS.) I have only two or three ſheep left, whoſe milk ſerves to nourith me, "and this poor girl, whom I would gladly ſell, even to a foreigner, if I could get for her the ſum they "demand of me: ſhe can never be in a worſe condition than ſhe is here, eſpecially if ſhe ſhould have "the misfortune to loſe me, which muſt infallibly happen, if I am not in a condition to pay this "money."

could

could procure them. They treated my demand with contempt; which obliged me to threaten them to uſe force: upon this two of them, being armed with match-locks, lighted their matches: two had bows and arrows; and all of them, being ſix in number, had ſabres; they alſo put themſelves in a poſture of defence. I collected my company, among whom were four muſkets, a blunderbuſs, and a pair of piſtols; but I could hardly depend on more than two of my ſervants. In this ſituation we parleyed for ſome time, till at length I ſubmitted to run the riſk of being drowned; rather than engage in a fray, where I might have more probably ended my life, but could not poſſibly obtain any honour or advantage, except the precarious uſe of horſes, through a country entirely unknown to us. Truſting therefore to providence, we embarked in the canoe. We made our way with paddles along the ſhore, in four or five feet water, within banks of ſand, ſo that we had breakers on both ſides of us. Had the wind come from the north, it would have been impoſſible for the canoe to live: but gentle breezes from the eaſt, with the ſkilfulneſs of our boatman in this ſort of navigation, brought us ſafe to MESCHEDIZAR. On the 28th, I learnt that the governor of this province (MAZANDERAN) had collected a thouſand men to make head againſt the rebels; but their unwillingneſs to fight, from their diſaffection to the government, had induced them to ſeparate; the governor himſelf had alſo retired. However the admiral MAHOMMED KHAN was there endeavouring by all means to collect a body of forces: SHAHVERDIE BEG, a colonel in the marine, was alſo with him. I ſent an ARMENIAN ſervant to inform them of my arrival, and to beg their protection; on which SHAHVERDIE BEG ſent me a horſe handſomely capariſoned, and four mules for my ſervants. The 30th, We came to BALFRUSH, where I had the ſatisfaction to learn the opinion of the PERSIAN merchants, that the SHAH would make good my loſs. MAHOMMED KHAN congratulated me on my arrival in his juriſdiction out of the hands of the rebels, and told me that I was happy in having eſcaped with my life; that he was himſelf under very melancholy circumſtances, having only a ſmall number of forces to oppoſe the rebels; and that he wiſhed to be in GHILAN; but could not return thither, for fear of the king's diſ-

diſpleaſure. He recommended to me to continue my rout by water, otherwiſe I muſt be expoſed again to the rebels in a defenceleſs city. I had no inclination for any more ſuch voyages, in which, with every puff of wind, I muſt be expoſed to be drowned, or driven, without any of the neceſſaries of life, upon a wild and friendleſs ſhore. However, to gratify the admiral, who knew leſs of the water than many children of five years of age, I made enquiry if it was practicable; and found that the inhabitants of MESCHEDIZAR being afraid of the TURKUMANS, had deſerted the place the day I left it, and that it would be to no purpoſe to return thither.

MATTEUSE, my interpreter, was much diſtreſſed with fatigue and fear, and inſtead of aſſiſting me with his council, talked of retiring to a monaſtery, which he thought would be more proper for his age and turn of mind, than ſuch perilous wanderings; and reſolved at the ſame time to remain in BALFRUSH. His incapacity of keeping pace on the road, and his jealouſy that I did not confide in him, made his company irkſome, though he was a very good old man.

The 31ſt, SADOC AGA having now advanced at the head of a party of TURKUMANS within a few miles of this city; MAHOMMED KHAN went out to reconnoitre his ſituation. The KHAN had with him only about 80 men, and though theſe were well mounted and armed, they were too few to come to action, had his courage diſpoſed him to it: nor had the TURKUMANS, on the other hand, half ſo great an inclination to fight as to plunder. Indeed the gallant figure which this party made, induced me to hope they would not put it to the iſſue of an unequal engagement. On the KHAN's return to the city, I waited on him, to thank him for the advice he had given me; but that it was not practicable to follow it; MESCHEDIZAR being deſerted by the inhabitants: therefore I deſired a ſupply of horſes for myſelf and ſervants. He now ſeemed cold and indifferent to my application; though, in general terms, he ſtill promiſed I ſhould have them, but without ſaying what number, or when: he complained at the ſame time, that he did not know but to-morrow might

be his laſt; as he was neither in a condition to fight, nor, for fear of his maſter's diſpleaſure, dared to retire.

February the 1ſt, I ſent a meſſage to the KHAN to remind him of his promiſe; and he aſſured my interpreter, that he would take care of us; but did not yet give any orders for horſes or mules. The TARTARS were every hour expected in the city; the ſhops were ſhut, and every countenance full of diſtraction. I reſolved therefore to depend no longer on the promiſes of the KHAN; but endeavoured to find horſes, mules, or even aſſes, where-ever I could procure them, intending to venture with my ſervants, if I could get no other company: but I found it impoſſible to hire any beaſt of burthen; for the greateſt part of the people had fled with their moſt valuable effects, and others were preparing to follow their example. The weather was very rainy, ſo that neither the match-locks, nor even the fire-locks of the PERSIANS could be of any great uſe to them againſt the bows and arrows of the TARTARS. Under theſe circumſtances I had nothing to do, but prepare to receive my conquerors the ſecond time, or to walk off by myſelf unattended; and of theſe alternatives I choſe the former. The next day MAHOMMED KHAN, as if he meant to inſult me, ſent a horſe extremely poor in fleſh, and mortally diſtempered. I was ſome time in doubt whether I ſhould accept of him or not; but at length I took my leave of my interpreter and ſervants, offering them what money they ſhould have occaſion for; and leaving with them the rebels paſſport, I recommended them to providence.

The TARTARS were already entering one gate, when I went out at the other. I fell in with a party who conducted the baggage of MAHOMMED KHAN, and himſelf with his few forces ſoon followed; but it was not poſſible for me to keep pace with them. The TARTAR boy followed me on foot; but he ſoon tired, and entreated me moſt earneſtly to take him up behind me. Before we had got ſix miles the horſe's hind-quarters gave way, and he ſat upon his tail like a dog, ſo that we were both obliged to diſmount. I now began to wiſh myſelf in the city again, hardly knowing what method to purſue: I had wrapped my body round with ſoft PERSIAN ſaſhes, that I might be defended as much poſ-

ſible

ſible againſt the injuries of the weather at this ſeaſon, which is generally ſevere in theſe parts; ſo that I was but in a bad condition for walking. I had no guide, and underſtood but few words of the language; however with the aſſiſtance of the TARTAR boy, who ſpoke TURKISH and RUSS, I found my way to the ſea-coaſt. I had with me a blunderbuſs and a pair of piſtols, intending to keep on my guard. The peaſants generally entertain an opinion that EUROPEANS have ſomething valuable about them; and this was my caſe, for I ſtill retained the greateſt part of the money I had concealed: and it now ſeemed neceſſary to diſguiſe myſelf in the beſt manner I could. My cloaths were already very mean; and the better to deceive any robbers, I ſet the boy on the horſe, which I led by the bridle, as he was yet able to creep along with a ſmall weight. There were ſeveral rivers to paſs, at which I had the good fortune to find ferries, and pleading poverty I paſſed gratis. In this manner I continued my journey for about ten ENGLISH miles, perplexed, and extremely harraſſed. At length the KHAN's company, to my great joy, having halted, I got up with them, and procured ſhelter from the weather, with a mat to lay on. By this time Mr. HOGG * and my RUSSIAN menial ſervant came up with me, having had better fortune than myſelf; for the KHAN had procured them a conveyance on horſeback in company with his own ſervants.

Early the next day I ſent to the KHAN, to acquaint him that it was impoſſible to proceed on the horſe which he had ſent me: he then ordered others, for which he demanded more than five times the value. As I knew by experience that the poſſeſſion of them muſt be precarious; and finding a perſon, who offered to ſupply us with better horſes for hire, I declined the KHAN's inſulting offer. We proceeded a ſhort day's journey to a little village on the ſea-coaſt, where we halted, and I was again deprived of my horſe. The KHAN now made a feint, as if he intended to ſtop the progreſs of the rebels, who were already advanced in purſuit of him as far as AMUL: obſerving the beauty of my piſtols, which were mounted with ſilver, he deſired the loan of them, alledging that he was going on a party to reconnoitre the rebels. I begged his acceptance of them, reminding him at the ſame time, that neither myſelf, nor the three per-

* My clerk mentioned in page 83.

ſons who were yet with me, had any carriage but what depended on accident, and the charity of the ſoldiers: upon this he again aſſured me, through the little TARTAR interpreter, he would take care of us. After a few hours abſence he returned in ſome confuſion, and ordered all the avenues in the woods to be guarded to prevent a ſurprize, a body of rebels being then very near. I had not then eaten any thing for near 40 hours except a few parched peaſe, ſo that I was obliged to beg what I dared not, and indeed could not buy, but SHAHVERDIE BEG relieved me.

All the men and baggage being collected within the walls of the VIZIR's houſe, where the KHAN was lodged; I concluded they either intended a ſecret flight, or to defend themſelves within thoſe walls in caſe of an attack. I accordingly joined them, and repeated my inſtances for horſes whenever they ſhould march; on which the KHAN bid me not be uneaſy, and promiſed that he would not leave any of us behind. When night came on, they began their march, and I had the mortification to find that every thing, even to the leaſt valuable baggage, was carried off, great part on very good horſes; while myſelf, Mr. HOGG, my RUSSIAN ſervant, and the little boy, were left alone. My eyes were now opened, and it ſeemed apparent, that the KHAN meant to make a ſacrifice of us, and that we ſhould be ſafer in the hands of the TARTARS than in his; nor was I without many ſelf-reproaches, for my refuſal to buy the bad horſes which the KHAN had offered me, though his demands were inſolent and oppreſſive: but I had no experience of ſuch a neceſſity, nor was I accuſtomed to ſervile compliances, ſo that I was eaſily betrayed into this miſtake. I thought indeed the preſent of 60 crowns value in the piſtols was ſufficient to procure the loan of a few bad horſes for 3 or 4 days, even upon the narrow principle of gain; but where generoſity is a ſtranger, gratitude has ſeldom any admittance. Truſting to the goodneſs of providence I was determined to follow the KHAN, and try if any means yet remained to procure ſome kind of conveyance. I had not ſtrength to walk far, and there was a deep water to paſs before we could reach the ſea-ſhore. Here we had the good fortune to find a ferry, and having paſſed the river we came into a wood, where the road was deep and marſhy

marſhy. It rained hard, and the night was very dark; but the baggage-horſes being heavy laden, moved very ſlowly, ſo that I was enabled to keep up with them. Under theſe painful circumſtances I walked for near four miles: being quite jaded, and finding no other expedient, I determined to ſeize the bridle of the horſe on which the KHAN himſelf was mounted, and try if the word SHAH had any magic to bring him to that ſenſe of duty, which neither his promiſe, nor the dictates of humanity, had yet obtained. Having collected ſome broken words, and the copy of the SHAH's decree [a], which I had in my pocket, I advanced towards the KHAN, and calling him by his name, he halted. My ſituation pleaded its own cauſe without the aſſiſtance of many words, and he immediately ordered his VIZIR [b] to take me up behind him.

Being thus mounted we went ſlowly for ſome miles, till the KHAN ordered a horſe loaded with baggage to be delivered to me, for which I was to pay 50 crowns. It was too dark to diſcover if it was a horſe, or any other animal: I found that I was obliged to pay a very exorbitant price for a precarious relief, but I conſented, as I now ſhould have done, if he had aſked 500. One of the conductors of the baggage had compaſſion on the TARTAR boy, and took him up. As for Mr. HOGG and the RUSSIAN ſervant, they had hitherto ſtrength to walk; but at length Mr. HOGG complained to me, that he was not able to move any farther, and begged I would relieve him with the uſe of my horſe, to which I conſented; but I was ſoon reduced to the alternative of diſmounting my fellow-traveller, or being left on the ſhore. From that time I ſaw no more of Mr. HOGG till ſome days after my arrival in GHILAN.

The apprehenſions which the KHAN had conceived of the TURKUMANS carried him on from ſeven in the evening, till the ſame hour the next morning; when after a ſhort refreſhment, we continued our march till four in the evening. The darkneſs of the night had been encreaſed by continual rain, whilſt the wind, and the beating of the waves on the ſhore, together with the apprehenſions of a ſavage enemy, added

[a] RAGAM. [b] Writer, or ſecretary.

horror

horror to the ſcene. Theſe circumſtances rendered my ſituation not eaſy to be underſtood, except by thoſe who have ſuffered the ſeverities of a winter-campaign without any of the neceſſaries of life: but inexperience of ſuch kind of trials adds ſome weight to them. I was more than once overcome with ſleep, and left alone; ſtill it was my good fortune to get up with my company; for our march was often interrupted by the rivers, which at this time were hardly fordable.

The 4th, We received intelligence that a body of TARTARS had been at the houſe which we left the night before. The fears of MAHOMMED KHAN magnified his danger, inſomuch that every ſhrub appeared to him as a party of the enemy: and during the night he often drew up his men in order of battle, and obliged them to keep their matches lighted. This morning the advanced guard gave the alarm, as if they had diſcovered a body of armed TURKUMANS poſted in a wood by which we muſt paſs, the ſea being on the oppoſite ſide. The KHAN immediately changed his cloaths, and preparing for battle, gave orders to fire in upon them. When I came up, I found five miſerable wretches weltering in their blood, and expiring with the wounds they had received. This formidable enemy proved to be only a party of 20 unarmed AFGHANS, who were going to NADIR's camp as recruits. The next day and night we travelled 20 hours, and at length halted at a village to refreſh ourſelves, where an odd adventure happened to me. I had hired a barber to ſhave me, who being queſtioned if he knew that I was a CHRISTIAN, and conſequently unclean, left me in the midſt of his work. I could hardly forbear laughing at the figure I made upon this occaſion; at the ſame time I reflected on the folly of the man, or rather of his religion. He was indeed right in one ſenſe; for my cloaths were very dirty, not having been off my back for thirteen days. I was now obliged to forget that tenderneſs which my conſtitution ſeemed to require; and lay on the bare earth, though ſometimes I had the fortune to procure a little ſtraw.

The inroads of the CASPIAN, and the torrents from the mountains, had formed many rivers and channels of water, ſome of which were hardly paſſable. The north-wind alſo made ſo great a ſurge on the ſhore where we

we were obliged to paſs, that many horſes belonging to our company were thrown down by its violence, and their riders in danger of being drowned. The 6th, I obtained a diſcharge of the baggage under which my horſe laboured: but I found him ſo weak on his legs, that I choſe rather to truſt to my own in paſſing theſe channels, where I ſeldom eſcaped without being wet to the middle. In the evening we arrived at ESPUCHIN, a little village on the ſea-ſhore, where by the kindneſs of SHAHVERDIE BEG I procured ſome refreſhments. I was ſoon informed that the KHAN was preparing to march, which ſurprized me very much, as there had been no time to reſt his cavalry: but the ill impreſſions which I had received of him, induced me to go immediately in ſearch of intelligence. The village was ſituated in a wood very marſhy, and abounding in ditches, and the houſes ſcattered in a wild irregular manner. I intended to go where the KHAN was lodged, but night coming on ſuddenly, I knew not which way to take, or how to recover my own lodgings; ſo that I wandered a conſiderable time through ditches and bogs. After being extremely fatigued and perplexed, I diſcovered a light, and made to it. Here I found one of the AFGHANS, whoſe companions I mentioned to have been murdered on the ſea-ſhore: he had ſome women with him, and was preparing for flight: my figure ſurprized him, and he made a ſhow of defence; but when he learnt that my buſineſs was only to find MAHOMMED KHAN, he directed me to him. I would now have gladly cleaned myſelf, but that was impoſſible: the KHAN ſeemed extremely ſurprized, and I could not explain to him the reaſon of ſo extraordinary a viſit; but deſired to be conducted to my own lodging. The moſt ſtupid and ungenerous have their fits of benevolence. I was agreeably ſurprized to ſee victuals ſet before me, with water to waſh myſelf, and a pan of charcoals to warm me. As far as I could diſcover from geſtures, and a few words, the KHAN repreſented Mr. ELTON's conduct and mine as very extravagant, in attempting to tranſport our merchandize through ASTRABAD to MESCHED, and expreſſed a great ſenſibility of the danger his own perſon had been expoſed to in conſequence of the rebellion. At length I was conducted to my lodging, where I found my RUSSIAN ſervant, who had ſupported himſelf very well under his fatigue, and was extremely faithful to me: he was under the utmoſt

moſt anxiety on my account, having in vain ſearched after me for ſome hours.

The 7th, After a forced march the KHAN, thinking himſelf out of danger, gave his women in charge of SHAHVERDIE BEG, and went to to TUNICABUNI, where he pretended he would ſtop the progreſs of the rebels. But the truth was, SADOC AGA, with his TURKUMANS, proceeded no farther in queſt of us; for the news of a powerful diverſion, with which the main body of the rebels were threatened in KHORASAN, induced him to return back. SHAHVERDIE BEG being now detached from the KHAN, treated me with the greater civility; but having no conveniences of life with him more than what related to his own perſon, he could not aſſiſt me with any thing but proviſions.

It is not the cuſtom in travelling in PERSIA for any man to come near the women, except their lord or his ſervants: but the circumſtances we had been in, prevented a ſcrupulous regard to this diſtinction, and I had once the office, not the moſt dignified in PERSIA, of guarding the women. My RUSSIAN ſervant had yet preſerved my blunderbuſs, which appeared very formidable to the PERSIANS; for I was ſeveral times aſked, "if it carried a ball as big as the bore." Thoſe females who are purchaſable like other animals, and change their maſter as often as their cloaths, are but ill entitled to a defence that may endanger one's life; though there are others of the ſex for whom one would dare to die. The roads through the woods were very marſhy, whilſt the ſand on the ſhore, and the trees which the ſea had waſhed down, rendered travelling very diſagreeable; but the temperate quality of the air was extremely refreſhing. I now firſt obſerved the delightful ſituation of many receſſes in the mountains, where they have plenty of delicious running water, with a profuſion of vines, orange, and lemon trees.

The 10th, We had paſſed through the whole province of MAZANDERAN, great part of it in the night, and conſequently with very little opportunity of obſervation, had my mind been enough compoſed for it. In three and twenty days, ſince the city of ASTRABAD was taken by the rebels,

rebels, I had not enjoyed an hour of ſecurity, or unbroken ſleep. We were drawing near to LANGAROOD, whence I had departed about ſeven weeks before, and was NOW as deſirous to ſee it again, as if it had been my proper home. Mr. ELTON having been informed that I was on the road, ſent Mr. LOFTUS his interpreter, with a ſervant, and one of his beſt horſes, to meet me. I was much ſurprized to find, that the news of the ASTRABAD rebellion had not reached Mr. ELTON above two days, though the diſtance does not much exceed 200 miles: but there is no civilized country, if PERSIA may be called ſuch, where there is ſo little communication, or more irregular intelligence.

I took my leave of SHAHVERDIE BEG, and returned him my ſincereſt thanks for the kindneſs he had ſhewn me, to which my preſervation was in a great degree owing: it was therefore the greater concern to me to hear, that the character he bore was not much ſuperior to that of MAHOMMED KHAN. The SHAH, not long before this time, had given SHAHVERDIE BEG directions about the execution of a certain buſineſs, and ordered him at the ſame time to be baſtinadoed. The king then aſked him: "Do you know why you have been beaten?" He anſwered in the negative: "It is," ſays the SHAH, "that in remembring the blows, you "may remember alſo the charge I have given you; and without which "I am ſure you would have forgotten it." Extraordinary as this conduct may appear, it was an inſtance of NADIR's ſagacity, according to the principles by which he was generally directed. For SHAHVERDIE BEG, though my friend, was a thoughtleſs, vain fellow, whoſe affinity with ſome great men in the camp, had been the only means of ſaving him more than once from much ſeverer puniſhments. I related to Mr. LOFTUS the treatment I had received from MAHOMMED KHAN, and ſoon diſcovered that Mr ELTON and the KHAN were not friends. The latter was envious of Mr. ELTON's growing power with the SHAH, and inſtead of forwarding, ſought to obſtruct the new deſign of building ſhips on the CASPIAN; and knowing the relation I had to Mr. ELTON, he had acted, as the reader may judge, as if he was very indifferent about my preſervation.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The author is kindly received by Mr. ELTON. *He reſolves to go in ſearch of the* SHAH; *and in the way is received by* HAHDGEE ZAMON *with great politeneſs. Character of* MAHOMMED KHAN. *State of* PERSIA *in regard to rebellion.* PERSIAN *manner of eating, and the nature of their beds.*

MR. ELTON received me with open arms, and congratulated me on having eſcaped with my life and liberty. He ſeemed confident that the SHAH would do us juſtice, and indeed the people, as I came along, were every where of that opinion, though they very much arraigned his prudence and my own for making this attempt. I had already reſolved, if neceſſary, to go in ſearch of the SHAH, who was then in TURKEY; but my legs and feet were much ſwelled and bruiſed, my boots not having been off for ſixteen days: ſome time was alſo neceſſary to provide myſelf freſh cloathing, not having ſaved any part of what I carried to ASTRABAD.

I acquainted Mr. ELTON where I had left MATTEUSE, and the other ARMENIAN ſervant, and alſo my clerk Mr. HOGG, whoſe ſituation I was very apprehenſive would expoſe him to ſome misfortune. Mr. ELTON immediately ſent ſervants and horſes in queſt of him, and after a few days he was brought home. He had overtaken MAHOMMED KHAN near the borders of GHILAN, who according to the treatment I had received of him, had provided Mr. HOGG a horſe, for which he was to pay a conſiderable price, though the beaſt fell under him before he had advanced two miles. Mr. HOGG now appeared as a man expiring in a lingering conſumption: he had been two days and three nights expoſed to the cold and rain without any food or ſhelter; five ſeveral times robbed, till they left him almoſt naked, and being often in danger of his life, was at length relieved by the charity of ſome monks *, whoſe retreat in the mountains he had the good fortune to diſcover. As to MATTEUSE, and the other ARMENIAN whom I left at BALFRUSH, they did

* There are certain DERVISES, or religious men among the PERSIANS, who lead a recluſe life.

not

not come home till three weeks after, ſo that they eſcaped theſe ſevere hardſhips. SADOC AGA gave them a paſſport at BALFRUSH under his ſeal, the pompous ſtyle of which, conſidering his circumſtances, will give the reader an idea of oriental language, as well as of PERSIAN folly.

"To the victorious armies be it known, that MATTEUSE the ARMENIAN "is here. Let him not be moleſted, but live under our ſhadow."

The 12th, I received the news, that Mr. PANTON, one of the ENGLISH factors, died of a jaundice at CASBIN, in his way to MESCHED. He was the fifth perſon that died ſince 1740 out of ſixteen EUROPEANS, who had been employed in the BRITISH CASPIAN trade.

Mr. ELTON finding that he could not procure men for the ſhip-yard, notwithſtanding SHAHVERDIE BEG had received the SHAH's orders to ſupply them; ſent out a ſmall party armed with clubs to take them by force; but inſtead of executing their buſineſs, they laid down their arms, and deſerted. This had irritated SHAVERDIE BEG in ſuch a manner, that we expected to be attacked in our turn. Being thus upon terms of enmity, Mr. ELTON ordered the two three pounders, which were planted before his door, to be loaded with cartridge ſhot; and we all put ourſelves in a poſture of defence.

As I had already been ſufficiently entertained in the hoſtile way, and ſhould not have choſen to pierce that breaſt [b], to which I had been a few days before indebted for my preſervation, I took my leave of Mr. ELTON, and ſet out for RESHD. It had rained inceſſantly for ſeveral days, which rendered the roads extremely bad, till we advanced higher into the mountain, where the ſoil is gravelly. Though GHILAN was reputed to be under the leaſt unhappy circumſtances of any province in PERSIA, yet the villages were in a very ruinous condition. From LANGAROOD to LAHIJAN is about ſeven ENGLISH miles: the latter being on an eminence, and dry, is eſteemed the moſt wholſome in the province; for here the mountains open a paſſage for the wind. The rains had filled a large ſpot of ground, and formed a ſquare regular piece of water, in which were abundance of wild fowl: in the centre of it ſtood a grove upon a

[b] SHAVERDIE BEG.

riſing ground, which ſerved to beautify the proſpect, and render it as delightful as the rudeneſs of the ſeaſon would admit. Here I was received by HAHDGEE ZAMON, who was diſtinguiſhed for his good ſenſe, as well as authority in that place.

The PERSIANS, who boaſt of the antiquity of their monarchy and government, have ſtill a remembrance of that learning and politeneſs for which they have been for ſo many ages diſtinguiſhed all over ASIA. Being ignorant of the vaſt improvements that are made by their neighbours the RUSSIANS, they conſider themſelves in general as greatly ſuperior to them; the truth is, they ſee very few but their unpoliſhed merchants, or ruder ſeamen. During our perilous journey through MAZANDERAN, my RUSSIAN ſervant had always ſlept in the ſame apartment with me; and now forgetting the diſtinction, he came into the room where we ſat, and fell aſleep. I begged the HAHDGEE's pardon, which with great politeneſs he granted; but not without making ſome remarks on the unpoliſhed manners of the RUSSIANS; adding however that under their government GHILAN was rich, and that he believed the inhabitants would not think it any unhappineſs if the RUSSIANS were again maſters of that province. He then complained aloud of the preſent government, reflecting on the meanneſs of NADIR's birth, and of the perſons employed by him; ſpeaking in favour of none of the grandees, except KASSIM KHAN, and MUSTAPHA KHAN. I took notice to him in what manner I had been treated by MAHOMMED KHAN: "You muſt "not be ſurprized," ſays he, "MAHOMMED KHAN is a very mean perſon. "A few years ſince he was ſent to the river ATTOK, to build rafts for "the army, when the SHAH made his expedition into INDIA. The "KHAN had alſo orders to collect proviſions, which he performed to "the ſatisfaction of the SHAH. He was afterwards ſent to MAZANDE-"RAN to collect timber to be tranſported by land a-croſs the PERSIAN "empire to GAMEROON; this he performed, though at the price of the "ruin of that province, of which he was afterwards made governor. "There he collected the taxes, according to the ſtyle of this country, ve-"ry well; that is, with the utmoſt oppreſſion. I am amazed at his

"treat-

" treatment of you: it is true, he is extremely avaritious; but the protec-
" tion and even hoſpitality you was entitled to upon every principle of
" juſtice, could not have coſt him any thing; and would have been high-
" ly to his reputation: however you ſee how mean a ſoul he has." Mr. LOFTUS, whom Mr. ELTON had now lent me as an interpreter, then took notice, that ſome officers and ſoldiers belonging to MAHOMMED KHAN, knowing we were going to the camp, had deſired him to ſay nothing concerning the conduct of their general, who had behaved as ill to Mr. ELTON in the maritime buſineſs, as he had done to me in my diſtreſs.

It is common for men in the fulneſs of the heart to complain of the evils they ſuffer, even when they enjoy a large portion of good. The HAHDGEE, who ſaw the miſeries of his country, and had been pillaged in common with others, now broke out into many exclamations. " I muſt
" confeſs," ſays he, " our king is a man of great natural parts, and in-
" flexibly juſt in ſome inſtances; but he acts as if he meant to ruin this
" poor country by the moſt deſpicable inſtruments: he employs only
" men of the loweſt birth and education. It is true, he has cut off num-
" bers of them for their wickedneſs; but they are infatuated, and take no
" warning. The SHAH himſelf is in his nature cruel; but theſe men im-
" prove on his cruelty: if they are ſent to take my cap, they take my
" head alſo: for the diſtance of the court often encourages their inſolence.
" Oppreſſion will make a wiſe man mad; and deſpair will drive people
" to rebellion, of which you have lately had a ſad experience. When the
" farmers hear of inſurrections near them, they oftentimes refuſe not on-
" ly to pay their taxes, but their rents alſo: this ſometimes involves us
" in extreme miſery: but the greateſt diſtreſs of this country is owing to
" robbers, who bring all things into confuſion, and theſe are the conſtant
" attendants upon rebellions."

Supper being now brought in, a ſervant preſented a baſon of water, and a napkin hung over his ſhoulders: he went to every one in the company, and poured water on their hands to waſh. In the court-yard ſtood a large lamp, which was ſupplied with tallow, and in the middle of the

the room upon the floor, was one large wax-candle; which they ſnuffed with ſciſſers into a tea-cup of water. A large ſalver in form of a tea-board was ſet before every perſon, covered with a plate of pleo, on which was a ſmall quantity of minced meat mixed up with fruits and ſpices. There were alſo plates of comfits, ſeveral china-baſons of ſherbets[r], as ſweet, ſour, and other waters, with cakes of rice, and others of wheat flower, on which were ſprinkled the ſeeds of poppies, and others of the like nature. As they eſteem it an abomination to cut either bread, or any kind of meat, after it is dreſſed, theſe cakes are made thin, that they may be eaſily broken with the hand, and their meat, which is generally mutton, or fowls, is ſo prepared, that they divide it with their fingers. When every thing was ſet in order before them, they eat faſt, and without any ceremony, feeding themſelves with their fingers. It muſt be confeſſed, that the PERSIANS are not very nice in their manner of eating; for they greaſe their hands, and beſmear their beards. Supper was no ſooner over, than warm water was brought to waſh, which being done, they reſumed their diſcourſe. And here it is worthy of remark, that when the oldeſt man in the company ſpeaks, though he be poor, and ſet at the lower end of the room, they all give a ſtrict attention to his words.

Soon after ſupper the company retired, and beds were taken out of nitches made in the wall for that purpoſe, and laid on the carpets. They conſiſted only of two thick cotton quilts, one of which was folded double, and ſerved as a mattreſs, and the other as a covering, with a large flat pillow for the head. The PERSIANS uſually ſleep in their under garment and drawers, by which means they are leſs ſubject to catch cold than we are, as well as much ſooner dreſſed and undreſſed. I was ſtruck with this ſimplicity which renders uſeleſs ſo many things, that in EUROPE are thought eſſential to the well-being of life. This is the ordinary method; but their princes and great men, who indulge themſelves in a higher taſte, uſe ſheets, and other delicate appurtenances of a bed; though without any of that parade which is practiſed in EUROPE; nor do they crowd their apartments with unneceſſary and ſuperfluous furniture.

[r] This is a PERSIAN word, though well underſtood in EUROPE.

The

The 18th, I ſet forward for RESHD, well ſatisfied with the laſt night's entertainment. I found the trees blown down, and the roads much broken up; the faſcines of which they were made, being uncovered. Though in general the country is marſhy, yet the bridges are quite neglected. It rained inceſſantly for nine hours very heavily. Paſſing by ſeveral plantations of mulberry-trees, and the burying-ground of ſome of my countrymen lately dead, I arrived the next day at RESHD, where Mr. ELTON had his houſe for commercial affairs. Here I was viſited by Mr. BROWN and Mr. WILDER, the only two ENGLISH gentlemen in that city, Mr. VAN MIEROP being gone to MESCHED. Though there was a great jealouſy ſubſiſting between Mr. BROWN and Mr. ELTON, yet I received great marks of friendſhip and politeneſs from the former: I had alſo a viſit from three FRENCH miſſionaries, of whom one profeſſed phyſick, and was afterwards in great eſteem with NADIR SHAH, having cured him of a dangerous diſorder. The SHAH expreſſed his gratitude by ſeveral preſents of value; but this miſſionary happening unluckily to be in the camp when NADIR was put to death [4]; he was ſtripped, and narrowly eſcaped being murdered. They were all three ſenſible, polite men, particularly father LE GARDE, who had been many years in PERSIA, and reſided at ISFAHAN, when it was taken by the AFGHANS, and of whom I learnt ſome particulars in relation to NADIR SHAH.

The 20th, I viſited ORDO KOULI BEG, governor of the province, whoſe uſual reſidence is in RESHD. Here I had a ſpecimen of PERSIAN inſolence, by the oppoſition which, without any authority, and contrary to cuſtom, a creature of MAHOMMED KHAN made to my going into the governor's preſence. The governor, who was an old man, received me with great civility, and as the cuſtom of EUROPEANS is well known in this province, he immediately ordered a chair to be ſet for me. I acquainted him of the misfortune that had befallen me, and that I was going to ſeek juſtice of the SHAH; and therefore deſired he would inform me where I ſhould moſt probably find him. He ſaid he could not give me any exact intelligence, but believed the SHAH would be in TURKEY,

[4] Above three years after this time.

or not far from the borders of SYRIA. The apartment was full of people ſeated on NÆMETS[c] ſpread round the ſides of the room, the ſervants and ſoldiers ſtanding in the ſquare below. I took my leave of the governor, and paid a viſit to M. BAKOONIN the RUSSIAN conſul: As he ſeemed to have always a deſire to render the BRITISH factors of as little conſideration as poſſible in the eye of the PERSIANS, he did not return my viſit in three days: but being diſpoſed to cultivate a good underſtanding with him, I ſent him word, that I was ſorry for his INDISPOSITION; he underſtood the reproof, and immediately came to ſee me that very day, making many excuſes for his delay.

Having provided myſelf with cloaths, bedding, and kitchen furniture, likewiſe with tents, mules, and horſes, as well as fire-locks and ſabres for my five attendants, the 26th I ſet out on my journey. I obſerved on this occaſion, that large mules are as dear here as in PORTUGAL; one, I remember, coſt me 250 crowns[d]: they are incomparably the moſt uſeful animal in rocky countries, being very ſure footed, and able to carry great burthens for long journies. The country here about abounds with fields of rice, and plantations of mulberry-trees: ſome of the mountains are covered with cyprus-trees, others are naked rocks riſing upon rocks to a vaſt height: lawns and arable lands with ſome mean villages are interſperſed in the valleys. We travelled this day to KOHTUNE, which is about 18 miles from RESHD; the elders of the place being abſent, we were obliged to ſet up in a caravanſerai, which was really an old ſtable in ruin: from KOHTUNE, for 5 or 6 engliſh miles the country is marſhy. Paſſing the river KIZILAZAN we aſcended the mountains by the RAHDAR[e] of NOGLABAR, where, having no merchandize, we paſſed for a ſmall acknowledgment. From thence we proceeded 22 miles to RUSTUMABAD, a ruined caravanſerai, famous for having been the rendezvous of a band of robbers: From thence through LUAH 16 miles to ROODBAR, on the banks of the river KIZILASAN; the country is well covered with olive, orange, and other trees, and in the neighbourhood there is alſo dry arable land. This place lies on the declivity of a hill, from whence runs a

[c] Felts of camels hair. [d] Sixty-two pounds ten ſhillings. [e] A PERSIAN toll.

ſtream

ſtream of water conveyed by channels to the roots of the olive-trees, which the peaſants cultivate with great aſſiduity. The heat of the weather, though we were now in February, fatigued us extremely.

The 28th, We paſſed the KIZILAZAN in canoes, into which we loaded our baggage, and ſwam over our horſes and mules; the ſtream was ſo rapid, that it carried ſome of them near a quarter of a mile. As we aſcended the mountains, the climate was much altered, and the wind blew ſo hard, that we were obliged to diſmount, for fear of being blown down the precipice, for in many places the path is not two feet wide. The mountain riſes ſteep on one ſide, and the valley, in which are ſome branches of the KIZILAZAN, is on the other. We travelled this day about 18 miles. The day following the road was very bad; for we were obliged to paſs the ſame river about thirty times in two hours, as the path on different ſides conducted us, while the rocks roſe perpendicular from the river [f]. We came about 25 miles to a caravanſerai very much ruined, where we thought it neceſſary to keep a ſtrict watch.

The 1ſt of March, we travelled three FARSANGS [g] over mountains: this paſſage is ſo extremely narrow, that part of the SHAH's army, in paſſing that way not many months before, loſt ſeveral men and horſes, which tumbled down the precipices. At length we came upon the great plain of CASBIN, which was covered three feet deep with ſnow: a narrow foot-path was trodden, but our horſes and mules often tumbled from it, and plunged into the ſnow; upon which occaſions we were obliged to unload the mules in order to recover the path. The reflection of the ſun upon the ſnow became ſo extremely painful to my eyes, that I could not proceed on my journey without great difficulty. The little villages upon this plain are built ſo, that half the houſes are under the ſurface of the earth, and the tops of them formed into a cone, for the conveniency of carrying off the ſnow. We arrived that evening to a little village near AGABABA, where we were obliged to take up with a ruined ſtable, and alſo to keep watch all night. The day following we ſet out ſome time be-

[f] This place is ſuppoſed to be the PAUCES HYRCANIÆ. [g] 12 miles.

fore ſun-riſe, as well to avoid the danger of being blinded by the reflection of the ſun-beams, as to enjoy the benefit of a firmer road.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Deſcription of the city of CASBIN, *and of the palace built by* NADIR SHAH. *Converſation with a* PERSIAN *merchant with regard to the trade of* PERSIA. *Further converſation with the ſame merchant concerning the calamitous condition of* PERSIA.

BEING arrived at CASBIN, I paid my compliments to HAHDGEE ABDULCRIM, the greateſt merchant in the place. He provided me with a good houſe near his own, and told me that I muſt ſubmit to ſtay ſome time in that city, as it was impoſſible to proceed on my journey on account of the ſnow; adding that 800 AFGHANS were in the city, who had been for ſome time prevented from continuing their march to the camp; and that for the ſame reaſon 50 camels loaden with rice for the uſe of the SHAH's army, had been obliged to return after one day's journey. Several couriers arrived, ſome of whom had their eyes ſo injured by the reflection of the ſun on the ſnow, that they could not ſee at all. The HAHDGEE obſerved further, that they muſt ſubmit to this inconvenience, for the plenty of their harveſt depended in a great meaſure on the ſnow. The houſes here are for the moſt part below the ſurface of the earth, as are many of the gardens joining to them, to obtain the convenience of water, which is brought to them from a conſiderable diſtance in channels; for as we uſually bring water up to our houſes, they level their houſes to the water, which however are not the leſs agreeable in hot weather: they are generally built with ſun-dried bricks, and their cement is a ſtrong lime: the roofs are flat, ſo that it is eaſy and familiar to ſleep on the houſe-tops. Theſe buildings are encloſed with a mud-wall; they conſiſt of two diviſions, the outer ſtands in a large area, and conſiſts of a ſpacious room *, one ſide of which is open, and ſupported with pillars. In theſe they diſpatch their buſineſs, and alſo eat, when they do

* The AIVAN.

not

not retire to the women's apartment. There are nitches in the wall, which anſwer the purpoſe of tables: the floors are covered with large worſted carpets; and on the ſides of the room are felts about a yard broad, and are generally two or three yards long; theſe are called NÆMETS, as already mentioned, and are made either with wool, or camels hair, and being very thick and ſoft, are uſed for ſitting upon. In the wings of this apartment there are ſmaller rooms for lodging: and in the ſame yard are apartments for the ſervants, and alſo their ſtables. On the back part of this building is another, likewiſe encloſed by a wall; which, for the ſake of privacy, is generally entered by two turnings: here is the women's apartment [b], into which no man is ſuffered to enter except the maſter of it.

The water in CASBIN has an exceeding bad reputation; I corrected its quality by boiling raiſins and barley with it, by which means none of us found any inconvenience. The badneſs of this water, with the ſudden changes of the weather, affect ſtrangers in ſuch a manner, that it is remarkable that numbers leave records of their ſickneſs in writings on the walls of the great caravanſerai.

This city ſtands on very high land, though a plain, which is ſurrounded with mountains at ſome miles diſtance; the air is fine and ſubtil. In ſummer the heats and colds alternately ſucceed each other, and though the days are very hot, in the nights the winds are extremely piercing; the abundance of fruit which the common people eat, contributes greatly to the unwholeſomeneſs of the place. The 3d, I viſited the HAHDGEE, who inſiſted on my dining with him: their hour is about 11 in the morning; he had milks differently prepared, cheeſe ſomewhat like our curds, comfits, and cakes of bread. It is the cuſtom here, as in moſt parts of ASIA, to make but two meals, of which the moſt conſiderable is in the evening, as practiſed in the ſouthern parts of EUROPE: and at this ſeaſon of the year they begin to ſleep two or three hours after dinner. The HAHDGEE enenquired how I liked PERSIA: I told him ASTRABAD and RESHD were the only places I had ſeen; that he knew I was but ill treated in the for-

[b] HARAM, this word ſignifies prohibited to men.

mer: he then enquired after that rebellion, and informed me with a ſeeming concern, that thoſe rebels were already defeated. I acquainted him upon what buſineſs I was going, and aſked his opinion of it; to which he anſwered: "You may be perfectly aſſured the king will do you juſtice. "One of our own merchants lately ſold the value of 20,000 crowns to "the BASHA of BABYLON, for the payment of which he received an order "on the BASHA of BASSORA; in the interim the SHAH beſieged BASSO-"RA, ſo that the BASHA refuſed payment. The merchant then com-"plained to the SHAH, who immediately ordered him payment out of a-"ny of his treaſuries he ſhould chuſe; and accordingly he has been paid "10,000 crowns in RESHD, 5000 in ISFAHAN, and 5000 at CASHAN. "The BASHA, not caring to be out-done in generoſity, has repaid the "money to the SHAH." He then added further: "You ought to thank "GOD for your misfortune; if you had not been plundered in ASTRA-"BAD, ſome worſe evil would have befallen you. The trade to ME-"SCHED is not proper for EUROPEANS; there is no-body can take off "goods in any large quantities; the PERSIAN merchants are extremely "poor." I obſerved to him, that the ENGLISH company at ISFAHAN had formerly a conſiderable trade all over the empire, and particularly in ISFAHAN and CASBIN. To which he replied: "CASBIN had then "twelve thouſand houſes inhabited, and now it has only eleven hundred; "ſee from this eminence how this poor city is in ruins! nor is ISFAHAN "much better; that city had formerly a hundred thouſand houſes well "inhabited, of which many were not much inferior in ſplendor to the "royal palace, which is the glory of the world: but incredible as it "may ſeem to you, I am aſſured that only 5000 houſes are now inha-"bited. I have formerly been at ISFAHAN with a caravan of 30,000 "crowns value, and in leſs than three months returned home with my "capital, and a profit of 4000; now I could not ſell 3000 crowns in ten "months. Alas! ſir, you know not to what miſery we are reduced." To this I replied: "I am very ſorry to hear your complaints, and to ſee "ſo much reaſon for them; for CASBIN indeed appears in ruins. When "your ſovereign has accompliſhed his deſigns, ſurely he will change his "ſyſtem: he can never mean to deſtroy the people; for that would be in

effect

" effect to deſtroy himſelf. In EUROPE he is conſidered as a great prince " and conqueror, who has reſtored the PERSIAN monarchy, and filled the " royal treaſuries with the ſpoils of INDIA. I am very ſenſible that it ſel- " dom happens, that the ambition of princes contributes to the happineſs " of their people, though it often occaſions their miſery. We have had " many inſtances of this in EUROPE. It is true, the king of SWEDEN " was at length as unfortunate as he was raſh: and FRANCE, which is " one of the moſt formidable powers in EUROPE, has lately diſtreſſed her " ſubjects extremely by this vain deſire of conqueſt." The HAHDGEE replied: " Who was it that reſtored the PERSIAN empire but the PER- " SIANS; and who aſſiſted the king to conquer INDIA but the PERSIANS? " He has now a foreign force, and governs us with an army of TARTARS." The circumſtances I was in, made me think it proper to decline a further diſcuſſion of ſo tender a point, and I took my leave.

I then went to ſee the new palace which NADIR SHAH had built in this city adjoining the old one: the entrance of it is formed by an avenue of lofty trees near three hundred yards long, and fifteen or twenty broad. The wall round it is about an ENGLISH mile and a half in circumference; it is thick and lofty, having only one entrance, which is an arched gate; the top of this gate projects, and is formed into many ſmall ſquares: within are four large ſquares, with lofty trees, fountains, and running water, which make the place awful and majeſtic. The apartments are raiſed about ſix feet from the ground: the AIVAN, or open hall, is in the center, and ſhuts in with falling doors. The apartments are ornamented in an INDIAN taſte; and the cielings formed into ſmall ſquares, imbelliſhed with writings of moral ſentences in very legible characters: moſt of the windows are of thick-coloured glaſs, made tranſparent, and painted with ſuch art, and in ſuch proper ſhades, that the glaſs ſeems cut into the ſeveral figures it is deſigned to repreſent: many of the floors are only of hard earth, others of a compoſition of beaten ſtone: the ſeeming defect in this inſtance is made up by the conſtant uſe of carpets.

The HARRAM is magnificent, conſiſting of a ſquare within its own wall of brick, about 30 feet high and 2 thick: there are four diſtinct apart-

apartments, in ſome of which are fountains, which ſerve to moderate the heat of ſummer, by giving the air a refreſhing coolneſs. The rooms are lined with STOCCO work, painted in the INDIAN taſte, with birds and flowers of different magnitudes, the colours beautiful, and ſet off with gilt edgings: the apartments have ſmall chimney-pieces in a mean taſte, and ſome are ornamented with looking-glaſſes in ſmall ſquares, of many different dimenſions, ſet into the walls. There are ſome few apartments below ground, admirably contrived for coolneſs. Near the HARRAM is the EUNUCH's apartment, remarkable only for its having but one door, and that a very ſtrong one. The brick of which the whole of the modern building is made, appears to be ill prepared for duration. Here are alſo ſome old apartments built by SHAH ABAS yet ſtanding, in which are ſome bad pieces of EUROPEAN figures by EUROPEAN painters: the PERSIANS themſelves are as ignorant of ſhades as the CHINESE. The apartment, where the SHAH kept his CASBIN treaſury, I was not permitted to ſee, not even the place where it ſtood: they ſaid he had above twenty millions of crowns* there, of which part was in large ingots of gold, run into cavities in the earth, the better to ſecure it from being plundered.

CASBIN is famous for having driven out the AFGHANS on their firſt coming into PERSIA; but their revolt coſt dear to the inhabitants of ISPAHAN, as I ſhall hereafter relate. This city is incloſed within a wall above a mile in each ſquare, with a great number of regular turrets and port-holes for arrows. It is famous in ſtory, as being one of the chief cities of the antient PARTHIA, the reſidence of many of the PERSIAN kings, and the burial-place of EPHESTION the favourite of ALEXANDER the GREAT.

The 9th, Though the ſun was warm, yet as the ſnow lay very deep, it was impoſſible to attempt the proſecution of my journey; and here were ſeveral companies and caravans in the ſame circumſtances. I thought myſelf very happily lodged in the HAHDGEE's houſe; but ſome part of it partook of the common ruin: for this day the top of the ſtable, in which my horſes and mules were lodged, tumbled in; and it was with

* Four millions of our money.

diffi-

difficulty we ſaved them from being ſuffocated; but by a ſingular good fortune they eſcaped with a few bruizes only.

The 10th, This being the PERSIAN new-years day, I went to pay my compliments to the HAHDGEE, and to wiſh him happineſs. "Alas," ſaid he, "what happineſs have we to expect? I am now paying 5000 crowns "a year to the SHAH in duties, and he demands 5000 more for ſubſiſt-"ence-money; how am I to ſupport my family? I am ſure my trade "will not do it; if the king goes on at this rate, in another year we muſt "make money of wood, for neither gold nor ſilver will appear except in "his treaſuries. Nor is this the only calamity under which we groan; "we are often beaten for what we have not: Human fleſh and bones can "never agree with a ſtick; what are men to do under ſuch circumſtances? "If they do not take up arms againſt their ſovereign, they muſt fly their "country. I know that our king is a very extraordinary perſon; but he "has no mercy, and acts more like a thief than a king." This diſcourſe ſeemed to be the ſequel of what he had a mind to ſay a few days before: I made anſwer, "I apprehend, Sir, the conqueſt of the AFGHANS about "20 years ago, and the ravages committed in conſequence of foreign wars "and inteſtine broils, have given a wrong bent to the minds of the PER-"SIANS; many of them certainly deſerve chaſtiſement, and their puniſh-"ment muſt often involve the innocent in great calamities. It is true, I "do not underſtand the politics of your king; but I hope he has ſome "good in ſtore for you." At this the company, ſeveral perſons being preſent, lifting up their eyes to heaven, prayed that it might be ſo. The HAHDGEE then reſumed the diſcourſe, and aſked me, "what I had ob-"ſerved in PERSIA": I told him, "that where-ever I had been, there "ſeemed to be a great want of people, of induſtry, and of money:" to which he replied, "I have already told you in what diſtreſs we are in for "want of money, and with what cruelty we are treated: this has induced "thouſands of our people to fly for ſhelter into INDIA[*]; and though we

[*] There has been always a conſiderable number of PERSIANS ſettled in INDIA, particularly in the trading towns on the coaſt of COROMANDEL and MALABAR; but the HAHDGEE alluded to thoſe who had taken refuge in the northern and weſtern parts of INDIA.

"hate

"hate the TURKS more than we do the CHRISTIANS; yet it is incredible "what a number of PERSIANS have taken refuge in TURKEY."

This ſort of diſcourſe, however intereſting to the PERSIANS, was not altogether proper for me. I obſerved they made no ſort of ſcruple of calling their king a RASCAL [e]; nor was he ignorant in general in what manner they treated him; but he puniſhed only thoſe perſons who were acute and refined in their lampoons, as I ſhall have occaſion more fully to explain hereafter.

I had this day an opportunity of obſerving how ill the prieſts in ſome countries inſtruct the people in the eſſentials of religion; my RUSSIAN ſervant, in whoſe commendation I have already ſpoken, had thrown ſome ſuperfluous meat into the ſtreet, alledging that he would ſooner give it to dogs than to MAHOMMEDANS, ſeveral miſerable wretches being then waiting for it, whoſe hunger would not have ſuffered the nice diſtinction of refuſing food from a CHRISTIAN.

Being near my departure, I rode about to ſee every thing that was worth notice; in particular the market-place [f], which had once made a conſiderable figure; three parts of it were now in ruins; and old women appeared in ſeveral of the ſhops, which in former times was not practiſed. Here is a very noted caravanſerai, with a large entrance and a magnificent dome; it has a great ſquare ſurrounded with piazzas, within which are lodgings and apartments for the reception of merchandize. This building coſt 27,000 crowns: here we paid a viſit to the governor of VARAMIE, who was under the cuſtody of a meſſenger, and going to the camp.

NESR KOULI MYRZA, the SHAH's ſecond ſon, and general of his forces in SHIRVAN, had now demanded a ſupply of 500,000 crowns in ſilver, which required 130 mules. The governor, who had this commiſſion, accordingly ſeized all the mules he could find, paying for them what price he pleaſed: he inſiſted upon mine till I repreſented to him the indignity he would offer me as a foreigner, and the violence as being under

[e] The word they uſe is KURUMIACK. [f] BAZAR.

the

the king's immediate protection; that if he took the mules by force, he might be well aſſured, the king ſhould be informed very minutely of it; upon which he thought proper to deſiſt. At the ſame time a nephew of the SHAH's firſt ſecretary came to viſit me, requeſting that I would take a parcel for his uncle; but that he muſt firſt conſult whether it was a lucky hour: he did not return, ſo that I concluded his prieſt had marked me out for further diſaſters.

CHAP. XXXV.

The author ſets out from CASBIN *for the* PERSIAN *camp. The moſt material events till his arrival in the camp. Remarkable inſtances of the ſuperſtition of the* PERSIANS.

ON the 11th, the weather was now warm, and great part of the ſnow melted: the caravan with the 500,000 crowns, guarded by 800 AFGHANS, begun their march; I therefore ſet out on my journey, directing my courſe towards HAMADAN; for it was reported, that the ſeveral rebellions on foot, particularly that of SHIRAS, had induced the SHAH to return home, and that the army was in full march towards that city. I thought it eſſential to my ſecurity under ſo diſtracted a ſtate of things, to join a large company who were going to the camp; among theſe was a young officer, the ſon of a wealthy merchant of ISFAHAN. It is a common cuſtom for the kings of PERSIA, to take a ſon out of every rich family, that the wealth of the parents may be a ſecurity for the good conduct of the ſon. When men's intereſt do not claſh, their being of the ſame profeſſion often induces them to ſhew a more diſtinguiſhed regard to each other; particularly among young perſons, whoſe affections are untainted by the world: this young man, though a ſoldier by neceſſity, conſidered himſelf as a merchant, and ſhewed me great kindneſs.

As we travelled on hardly any thing took my ſight but the ruins of towns and villages; the richneſs of the ſoil, and the ſoftneſs of the climate, rendering this proſpect ſo much the more lamentable. The next day we met four couriers from the camp, from whom we learnt, that the

SHAH was marching towards HAMADAN. This country abounds in elks, which ſeemed to be as fleet as birds; for none of our horſes could reach them: the PERSIANS call them GIRAN, and pretend there is muſk near their tails. The ſkeletons of ſeveral camels were lying near the road, the fleſh of which had been conſumed by wolves: this animal is very ill qualified to travel upon the ſnow, or wet ground; the breadth in which they carry their legs, when they ſlip, often occaſions their ſplitting themſelves; ſo that when they fall with great burthens, they ſeldom riſe again: they are moſt uſeful, as is well known, in deſerts and plain dry countries, and will travel two or three days with little or no water. The weather was extremely delightful, but we could not travel above five leagues a day.

It ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed as a cuſtom in PERSIA, for military people to pillage where-ever they go, at leaſt to compel the peaſants to procure proviſions for them: this often occaſions the latter being deaf to all importunities on any principle of humanity, or the laws of hoſpitality. We arrived at a village, the houſes of which were built with ſtone, and made ſo defenſible, that we could not procure any entrance, till we prepared to take a houſe by ſcaling the walls.

The 13th, We met four couriers going to CASBIN, with orders for the forces there to march to SHIRVAN, to join NESR KOULI MYRZA: we were often neceſſitated to take up with lodgings in ſo ruinous a condition, that I was apprehenſive of falling into the ſame circumſtances as my horſes had been in at CASBIN. Beſides the diſtreſſes occaſioned by NADIR's tyranny, moſt of the towns and villages, on the frontiers of TURKEY, having been ruined by the TURKS, and the inhabitants carried into ſlavery, the whole appeared as a ſcene of deſolation: as we approached the few villages, the inhabitants taking us for ſoldiers or robbers, which was much the ſame, fled into the mountains, and left us to provide for our ſelves.

The 14th, Our advanced guard, diſcovering a party whom they took for robbers, detached a horſeman to inform us of our danger; upon which we halted, and put ourſelves in a poſture of defence. A youth belong-

belonging to our company, by profeſſion a writer, was miſſing; his maſter, one of the SHAH's adjutants, began to rave, proteſting he would find his writer, or finiſh his life; for without him he could not ſettle his accounts with the SHAH: accordingly he demanded the aſſiſtance of a few others, and prepared to go in ſearch of the youth; but happily he came up with us, having eſcaped by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe. I now firſt learnt, that all my PERSIAN fellow-travellers were in the cuſtody of a meſſenger, who was conveying them to the camp, and conſequently would not conſent to their ſeparation. Such were the terrors of NADIR's tyranny, that this ſingle perſon kept eight or ten officers of diſtinction, with all their ſervants, as priſoners. I took particular notice of one of them, who was a BALLOUCHE of the tribes in the eaſtern parts of PERSIA, who are almoſt black: he was well mounted, armed, and attended; but in debt to almoſt every one in the company, who apprehending him to be in no ſmall danger of his life from the reſentment of the SHAH, demanded his horſe and armour in payment. He gave them a ſilver CAALLEAN gilt with gold, likewiſe his bow and arrows, the quiver of which was covered with black velvet, and ſtudded with gold nails. Though this man's annual appointment did not exceed 240 crowns, and he had no other revenue; yet the value of his horſes and mules, and their appurtenances, did not fall ſhort of 1000 crowns. He was very communicative, and finding me an EUROPEAN, he ſpoke without reſerve: I am," ſays he, come from ISFA-"HAN, where I have been two years raiſing forces for the SHAH, and "have procured him 2000 men; one thouſand is the uſual number which "he annually draws from that city. In requital he has lately taken from "me 4000 crowns, and I am now under apprehenſion of ſome other act "of violence. It is no uncuſtomary thing with my maſter to ſend for a "man in order to ſtrangle him; and indeed, as to my part, I ſhould be "glad to compound for a ſevere beating;" intimating that he expected death. He was a rank predeſtinarian, as moſt of the MAHOMMEDANS are; however he endeavoured to learn by heart a prayer compoſed by HUSEIN, one of ALI's ſons, which if repeated right in the preſence of the king, he ſaid, it would divert his wrath; but if falſly, increaſe it. He talked much of the force of words, and the power of the almighty: at

the ſame time he told us ſtories of the feats of MAHOMMED, particularly concerning his imaginary journey into heaven; which were all the genuine produce of groſs ſuperſtition. And here it is worthy of remark, that the MAHOMMEDANS do aſſign a very exalted ſtate of glory to JESUS CHRIST; and though they do not confeſs his divinity, they approach to that opinion. This officer had alſo another ſpell, which, by pretended divine authority, he propoſed to uſe, viz. the repetition of ten particular letters in the alphabet, as he entered the royal tent, cloſing a finger at each, and keeping the fiſt claſped till he came before the throne, he was ſuddenly to open his hands, and by the diſcharge of this magic artillery, to ſubdue the king's wrath.

It is amazing to conſider in how many inſtances the PERSIANS demonſtrate the higheſt ſuperſtition: ſneezing is held a moſt happy omen, eſpecially when repeated often: the hands with the fingers interchanged, and ſome particular poſture of the body, are conſidered as full of magic power, and if uſed maliciouſly, of dangerous conſequence. As their minds are tainted with a fondneſs for whatever is marvellous, and a belief of the agency of inviſible powers on the moſt trivial occaſions; they think the meteors that reſemble falling ſtars, and which are vulgarly called ſo, are the blows of angels on the heads of the devils, who would pry into the ſecrets of paradiſe. Cats are held in great eſteem, but dogs in abomination; ſo that a dog is never permitted to come into any room: they ſometimes however uſe them at their diverſions. The TURKS are not much behind them in this folly: in the reign of SHAH ABAS the GRAND SEIGNIOR ſent to that prince, to deſire that as none but their prophet and his children had been dreſſed in green, none of his ſubjects might be permitted to wear that colour, eſpecially in ſtockings. To this SHAH ABAS, who was a man of underſtanding, made anſwer, that if the GRAND SEIGNIOR would prevent the dogs piſſing on the graſs in TURKEY, he would comply with the requeſt.

The learned men in PERSIA are fond of aſtrology, and often pretend to foretel events; but NADIR treated their predictions with great contempt. It is ſaid, that ſometime ſince a certain perſon foretold the conqueſt of

PERSIA

PERSIA by the AFGHANS, with all its circumſtances; adding, that PERSIA would be again reſtored by a perſon reſembling NADIR; and that in a certain year of their æra, the kingdom would flouriſh, and be governed with great equity. NADIR being apprized of all theſe predictions, took occaſion to be very oppreſſive that year, as well to expoſe ſuch opinions, as to gratify his own avarice.

But to reſume my narrative: we travelled ſix leagues this day, of which two were out of our road, in order to obtain neceſſary accommodations; and now leaving the province of IRAK, we came into ABARSULTAN. The 15th, hail and extreme cold made this day's journey very diſagreeable: the day following we came into the diſtrict of CALIMBRO, where HAMADAN is ſituated, having been eleven hours on horſeback, in which time we had travelled ſeven FARSANG; part of the road being covered with ſnow, and very difficult to paſs. The whole country ſtill appeared a dreary waſte: the great number of ruined towns and villages, gave proof of its former ſtate; but hardly any of them were inhabited, except by robbers who infeſt the country. Barley is the common food for horſes; but we could procure none for many leagues; ſo that we were obliged to give them wheat; a common feed of which for three horſes and as many mules coſt a crown.

On the 17th we came to a village, the gates of which were of ſtone; it was walled in, and made defenſible, as well againſt robbers, as the wolves, which often deſtroy the cattle in hard weather. Here they keep their corn in large veſſels of earth made like a tun, and ſet in the ground; they alſo warm themſelves by wood-fires made in holes cut in the floor; when burnt to aſhes they cover them with blankets, to confine the heat, which renders the air very ſuffocating.

As we approached to the camp, the dread of my companions encreaſed, and with it their ſuperſtition. Finding the bone of a ſheep, they ſet it, as they ſuppoſed, perpendicular, accounting that if it fell towards the camp, all would go well; if from it, they muſt prepare for their fate: it of courſe fell where they had given the poiſe, which was on the right ſide.

Soon

Soon after, two large wolves croſſed the road not far before us; this they conſidered alſo as a lucky omen; but notwithſtanding theſe good omens, they muſt beware of the camp; for on this day three hundred thouſand plagues are ſent from heaven on the earth; however the next day would be propitious, if they went to the camp at a certain hour.

About noon we arrived at a ſmall village, where an advanced guard of the army were poſted, to protect the villagers, as is cuſtomary when the camp is near. The commander of theſe forces declared, that he could not find quarters for the PERSIANS, who were in my company, and inſiſted that they muſt go directly to the camp; but on their pleading, that they had paid honourably for every thing they had been ſupplied with on the road, and that they were alſo charged with the care of me, they were ſuffered to enter the village. The day following our PERSIAN convoy took their leave of us, not without ſorrowful countenances; demanding of their conductor why he haſtened them: "Do you not know," ſaid one of them, "that to condemned perſons every hour of life is of great "moment?" I ſent my interpreter to the SHAH's miniſter appointed for the reception of ſtrangers, to acquaint him of my arrival, and to enquire where I ſhould pitch my tent. Though we were now ſo very near the SHAH, ſome of the ſoldiers in this village did not refrain from calling him a raſcal[a] in plain terms. The 20th, we ſet out for the camp; on the way we met a number of camels loaded with the SHAH's tents, of which he has two ſets, that one may be always pitched for his reception.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The author arrives at the PERSIAN *camp, and is kindly received by* MUSTAPHA KHAN, *who, by order of* NADIR, *enquires into the ſtate of* EUROPE. *He obtains a decree from the* SHAH *for payment of his loſs at* ASTRABAD.

BEING now entered the camp, I pitched my tent near the royal ſtandard, which was about a gun's ſhot from the SHAH's tent. HAMADAN[b], which was about a league to the ſouthward, is ſaid to be the

[a] KUZUMIACK. [b] To the ſouth-eaſt is the mountain ELVEND; this city is ſaid to be the antient ECBATANE, which was deſtroyed by NEBUCHODONOZAR.

burying-

burying-place of queen ESTHER and MORDECAI: it was now the grand repoſitory of NADIR's cannon, bombs, and other artillery, which ſeldom appear in the camp, but when ſome ſiege, or extraordinary expedition is deſigned. I had the ſatisfaction to learn, that the rebellion in ASTRABAD was ſuppreſſed; and that the SHAH had declared, that the merchants ſhould not be ſufferers. I had no ſooner pitched my tent, but an accident happened, which was very near depriving me of the means of ever telling my ſtory: for the greater ſecurity, I had ordered our fire-arms to be ſet round the pole on the back part of my tent, which was partitioned off by a cotton-cloth; I was walking in a penſive manner, at which time it is natural for men to ſtand and pauſe, eſpecially when they have ſo ſmall a ſpace as four or five yards to move: in this interval one of the pieces went off, carried two ſluggs through the top, and made a hole perpendicularly over my head. This accident was occaſioned by one of my ſervants moving the piece obliquely, and touching the trigger, which in very few PERSIAN muſkets has any guard: I had very narrowly eſcaped twice before on the road from an accident of this kind, owing to the careleſsneſs of my ſervants; but now I was extremely alarmed leſt the report of the muſket, ſo near the royal tent, ſhould give offence. My own tent, being of cotton, was ſet on fire, but we ſoon extinguiſhed the flame; and this accident had no other conſequence, nor was any enquiry made about it.

I waited immediately on MUSTAPHA KHAN, who received me with great expreſſions of kindneſs, and obliged me to dine with him: in the interim I delivered my petition to the chancery, with regard to the loſs I had ſuſtained at ASTRABAD. The KHAN aſſured me, that juſtice would be done: he then demanded what preſents I had brought for the SHAH? This queſtion ſtartled me, as I imagined the character in which I appeared as a petitioner, would have rendered preſents to the SHAH a groſs impropriety. I excuſed myſelf by ſaying, that nothing worthy the acceptance of ſo great a prince could be found in GHILAN, when I departed from thence; and it was really true, that no ſables, nor rich ſtuffs, were at that time obtainable, in caſe I had been inclined to carry the SHAH a preſent,

preſent, as I ſhould have done if I had been rightly informed. My interpreter told me upon this occaſion, that a ſhort time before, one of the miniſters declared, that it was not the SHAH's cuſtom to accept of preſents; but as Mr. ELTON was a ſubject of ſo worthy a nation, he received what was then offered to do him honour: the truth is, that this antient cuſtom of the eaſt is rooted deep in their hearts, and converted into a ſpecies of corruption, from which their princes are not exempt. One of the company enquired of me, in relation to the PERSIANS in whoſe company I came from CASBIN; adding, that he knew not what account they had given of themſelves to the SHAH; but he believed his majeſty would pardon them to do me honour; making at the ſame time ſeveral laviſh and hyperbolical compliments. It is incredible how far this ſort of gallantry is carried in PERSIA, when it is meant to ſhew a diſtinguiſhed regard to ſtrangers who are under their protection. I told him, that I knew very little of thoſe perſons, and nothing at all of their crimes: whether the SHAH was at that time very much diſtreſſed in his affairs, or for ſome other reaſon, but the accounts of my fellow-travellers were actually accepted, and the wages of the merchant's ſon conſiderably advanced.

The king was in his tent of audience from ſeven in the morning till ten at night, retiring only for a ſhort time; he had with him but 30,000 effective men, though with the ſervants of the ſoldiers, and attendants upon the camp, they were in the whole near thrice that number; a large body of forces was left towards ERIVAN; near 30,000 men were in SHIRVAN; 25,000 in SHIRAS, beſides a body of forces in KHORASAN, and a formidable army on the banks of the INDUS. The numerous rebellions then on foot called on NADIR for the utmoſt attention, and he had taken meaſures for the ſuppreſſion of them all at one and the ſame time.

This day a PERSIAN of ſome diſtinction made me a viſit, and enquired what I had obſerved in PERSIA. I told him, I was amazed that ſo fine a country had ſo few inhabitants. "It is true," ſays he, our coun-
"try is ruined; but it cannot be otherwiſe; for the SHAH has ſupport-
"ed all his forces in one continued campaign of four years, by the taxes
"drawn

" drawn from his people, who have now but little left to ſupport them-
" ſelves: and indeed none but him, or an almighty power, could have
" maintained ſo vaſt an army by ſuch means. Now the affairs of the
" empire are ſettled, and the frontiers peopled with ſuch families as he
" can depend on, we hope all will go well." This laſt part of the diſ-courſe did not ſeem to flow from his heart ſo much as the former, nor was it much to be expected: it was a kind of proverbial ſaying among the PERSIANS; " what mighty things will be done ſo long as the king lives:" but it ſeemed to carry this ſenſe with it alſo, that with him all the glory of PERSIA muſt expire. Indeed few of them appeared to be endowed with a ſufficient underſtanding to argue upon probable events, or to look into the dark proſpect of futurity.

The SHAH paſſing from his HARRAM to his tent of audience, gave me an opportunity of ſeeing him: he was very plainly dreſſed, except in pre-cious ſtones *. The ſame day MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, the father of MAHOMMED ZAMON BEG, governor of ASTRABAD, arrived from SHIR-VAN, where he had a great ſhare in the reduction of that formidable re-bellion. I viſited QUIRIM BEG, the ajutant-general, who had the care of the SHAH's records, and he bid me hope that I ſhould ſoon receive a favourable decree; but was very reſerved in his acceptance of a preſent of ſome fine cloth and rich ſilk, which I had prepared for him. I deſired that he would procure me a copy of the ſeveral decrees in favour of fo-reign merchants in PERSIA, which he gave me.

I paid my reſpects a ſecond time to MUSTAPHA KHAN, who in the ordi-nary complimental ſtrain, aſſured me he had ſpoken in my praiſe to the SHAH, who had ordered him to aſk me, if I knew whether any of the CHRISTIAN powers had attacked the TURKS in EUROPE, or might probably engage in a war with them. I anſwered the KHAN to this effect: " The RUS-
" SIANS having been harraſſed with wars for near forty years, now enjoy
" repoſe, and as far as I apprehend, will not engage in an offenſive war
" with the TURK, or any other power. The hereditary enemy of the
" TURK in EUROPE, his majeſty knows, is the queen of HUNGARY;
" ſhe has her hands full, being cruelly oppreſſed in every quarter by the

* The reader will find an account of his perſon in the laſt volume of this work.

" FRENCH king, and is conſequently in no condition to attack the TURK: " but ſhould the latter embrace this opportunity to break with her, it is " highly probable, that the RUSSIANS will appear in her defence. GREAT " BRITAIN has been engaged in a war with SPAIN already for ſome " time: and we expect to hear that ſhe has broke with FRANCE alſo. " Thus the raging flames of war ſeem to threaten the greateſt part of EU- " ROPE." But all the nations, as well as princes of that quarter of the " world, have heard with wonder, the atchievements of the SHAH your " maſter; and conſider the TURK as much inferior to him in ſtrength and " fortune, as he is apparently ſuperior to them in knowledge of the art of " war." With this account the KHAN ſeemed to be ſatisfied, and I took my leave of him. In the evening a perſon was dragged out of the royal tent, who had been ſtrangled for deſertion; the executioner finding life yet in him, gave him a violent blow on the breaſt.

The 22d, The royal ſtandard being taken down, as a ſignal for ſtriking the tents, we decamped, and came about two leagues and a half north-eaſt, where the SHAH's tents being already prepared, I pitched mine in company with the whole camp. Heavy ſhowers falling upon a rich ſoil, made it extremely troubleſome, and it was with difficulty that we could, by the help of oil-cloths and other conveniencies, keep ourſelves dry in our tent, round which we were obliged to make a channel to carry off the water. All the cattle belonging to the camp, being expoſed to the weather, were over their fet-locks in dirt: and here I obſerved, that the inceſſant fatigues of long marches, and the rigor and inclemency of the ſeaſons, had ruined the PERSIAN cavalry, renowned for ſo many ages. There are however ſome good horſes, which exceed in ſize, but few of them are of equal fire and beauty with the ARABIANS; nor do they manage their mouths well; moſt of them being ſpoilt with the harſhneſs of their bits. Theſe horſes being never under cover, commonly carry their body-cloths on their backs, which are made of a coarſe felt, very heavy, and ſo hot, that I imagine they enervate a horſe very much. They dye the tails of thoſe which are of a light-colour with red or orange: NADIR's horſes were led promiſcuouſly in the crowd of the army; and theſe had ſuffered in common with the reſt.

MUSTA-

MUSTAPHA KHAN having been informed, that I was poſſeſſed of a bill from MAHOMMED HASSAN, chief of the rebellion at ASTRABAD, for the amount of my loſs, demanded a ſight of it. With this I the more readily complied, as it ſerved me as a voucher of the value, as well as gratified the curioſity of the KHAN, and probably of the SHAH himſelf; for his decree, which was this day delivered to me, was made out according to that value. The contents of this decree were, "that I "ſhould give the particulars of the loſs in writing to BEHBUD KHAN, the "SHAH's general in ASTRABAD, who had orders to deliver to me what-"ever part of the goods might poſſibly be found, and to reſtore them in "kind, and the deficiency to be paid out of the ſequeſtered eſtates of the "rebels without delay, to the laſt DENAER." This was not quite the thing which I wiſhed for, becauſe it laid me under a neceſſity of returning to that wretched place, ASTRABAD; however I could not but acknowledge the higheſt obligation for ſo ſignal a mark of juſtice and clemency.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Deſcription of the PERSIAN *camp and army. A circumſtantial account of their tents, ſtandards, arms, market-place. Of the* SHAH's *women, and their manner of travelling. Of the uſe of elephants and camels. Different bodies of which the army is compoſed, and of the military exerciſes of the* PERSIANS.

BEING now eaſy in my mind on the ſubject of my loſs at ASTRABAD, I rode entirely through the PERSIAN camp, attended by my intepreter, and another perſon, as far as the quarter of the elephants, and informed myſelf as minutely as poſſible, of every particular relating to the army.

In placing the camp a general regularity is obſerved, as far as is agreeable to the ſize and ſhape of the ground; it being a rule conſtantly purſued, to place the tents of certain principal miniſters and officers in the front, or to the right or left of the SHAH's quarters, that ſome of them

may be always near him. The circuit of the quarter allotted to the SHAH's own tents is very large: the entrance conſiſts on one ſide of a line of uniform tents, ſerving for guard-rooms; and the other, of the tents in which the affairs of the chancery, and the like public concerns, are tranſacted. About 200 yards beyond this avenue is the pavilion in which the SHAH uſually ſits, to give audience, and tranſact buſineſs: it is oblong, ſupported by three poles, adorned with gilded balls at the top; the covering is of a cotton cloth of a brick colour, and the lining of clouded ſilk: the floor is covered either with carpets or cloths, and the body of the pavilion has on each ſide a kind of alley, through which the attendants may walk round; ſometimes the SHAH ſits upon a large SOPHA, or chair, croſs-legged *, and ſometimes on the floor. The hind-part of this tent is divided into ſmall apartments, where the officers who do not appear in his majeſty's preſence, attend: there is nothing ſumptuous in this pavilion, the front of which is always open, even in the worſt weather; however when it is extremely cold, ſeveral pots of lighted charcoal are placed in the middle. At a conſiderable diſtance behind were placed the SHAH's private tents, to ſome of which he retired at his meals: and in order to render them warm, he had INDIAN pannels, which were occaſionally ſet up, and formed the linings of two ſmall apartments: to theſe were admitted only his ſecret emiſſaries, when they had any remarkable intelligence to communicate; but in the laſt years of his life he had no familiarity with any of them.

Almoſt contiguous to theſe were the tents of the SHAH's ladies, which differed from the others in having ſeveral curtains that formed ſeparate apartments one within another. The boundaries of the SHAH's quarter were occupied by his eunuchs and female ſlaves, and almoſt this whole circuit, eſpecially towards the reſidence of the women, was ſurrounded by a ſtrong fence of net-work, round which the night-guard patrolled, and ſeverely puniſhed all intruders. As there were no lights in theſe parts, nor any tents near them, it frequently happened that people, coming to the camp by night, ignorantly ſtraggled thither, and were ſure to be ill treated when this happened.

* The ordinary method is with their legs under them.

I ob-

I obſerved, that none but the officers in immediate waiting were admitted into the royal pavilion; for the officers of ſtate, and people in buſineſs, ſtood in the open air in all weathers, forming a ſemicircle in front of the tent: if they were brought to anſwer for their conduct, they were held under the arm by proper officers, to prevent their eſcape, or committing any acts of violence. The ſame ceremony, with very little difference, was obſerved alſo towards foreign embaſſadors, or great men; the laſt indeed was under pretence of reſpect, but it alſo ſerved to prevent any accident; an attempt having been once made on the SHAH's life, as I ſhall relate in his hiſtory.

The PERSIANS uſe a certain glazing in their cotton tents, which, in ſome degree, prevents their being penetrated by water. The tents of perſons of diſtinction are of various ſhapes, but moſt commonly oblong, and ſupported by three poles: the outſide is always of coarſe cotton cloth, and the inſide is either lined with the ſame, or with woollen, or ſilk, according to the different ſeaſons of the year, and circumſtances of the owners: the ground is ſpread with a thick cotton cloth, or mat, and over that is laid a carpet, or woollen printed cloth * of ſeveral colours; beſides this covering, the ſquare of the floor is laid round with felts, as already deſcribed, and theſe ſupply the place of bedſteads and featherbeds; though ſome have their beds raiſed a little above the damp of the earth. The top and ſides of the tents of great officers are ſometimes lined with pannels, which are wrought with flowers, and variety of figures: large tents are often divided into two rooms, or apartments, by pannels or curtains; the back part is appropriated for the uſe of the women; but ſuch grandees as have ſeveral women, place a ſet of tents for them at a diſtance from their own, which are ſurrounded with cotton cloths, to prevent their being ſeen: they have alſo, at a convenient nearneſs to their tents, a hole dug, encloſed by a cotton-ſcreen of four folds, to anſwer the neceſſary purpoſes of nature.

That part of the camp called in TURKISH the ORDUBAZAR or camp-market, begins at the end of the ſquare fronting the guard-rooms, and is

* Of BRITISH manufacture.

about

about half a mile long: it conſiſts of tents on each ſide like a ſtreet, running as direct as the nature of the ground will admit: theſe tents are often ſupplied with a variety of proviſions, apparel, horſe-furniture, and other neceſſaries, which are brought hither for ſale; not to mention the continual change of property ariſing from the daily confiſcations made by the SHAH. The care of this market is committed to an officer called ORDUBAZARI, who often rides up and down to keep order; and when any diſputes ariſe, they are brought before the DEROGA BAZAR, or ſuperintendent of the market, who acquires a conſiderable income from rents, fees, preſents, and extortions. Many of the ſhop-keepers were little better than common ſutlers; but ſuch as carry on great buſineſs, are under the protection of ſome of the principal courtiers, who are the grand dealers in flower and rice, of which there is always a great conſumption: and as theſe courtiers have frequently many ſupernumerary ſervants, camels and mules, they ſend them to the diſtant provinces that produce rice, which they bring to the camp for ſale, and make great profits. But if the ſhop-keepers, or other traders, interfere with them in theſe branches of trade, they generally mark them out for deſtruction.

NADIR often enquired into the price of neceſſaries, and reduced them as he thought proper, fining the market-people upon every tranſgreſſion: but the moſt notorious inſtance of injuſtice to the ſhop-keepers, was his obliging them, when his tents and their appurtenances were grown old, to take them, and pay him the value of new ones.

The two imperial ſtandards were placed on the right of the ſquare already mentioned: one of them was in ſtripes of red, blue, and white, and the other of red, blue, white, and yellow, without any other ornament: though the old ſtandards required 12 men to move them, the SHAH lengthened their ſtaffs, and made them yet heavier; he alſo put new colours of ſilk upon them, the one red and yellow ſtriped, the other yellow edged with red: they were made of ſuch an enormous ſize, to prevent their being carried off by the enemy, except by an entire defeat[b]. The regimental

[b] The loſs of the battle of KERKOUD in 1733, ſeemed to be owing to the ſtandard-bearer, riding off the field with the ſtandard.

colours

colours were a narrow ſlip of ſilk ſloped to a point, ſome were red, ſome white, and ſome ſtriped: ſeveral hours before the moving of the camp, one of the ſtandards was taken down by way of ſignal, and carried forwards to the place where the new camp was to be pitched. The SHAH's ſet of tents, and thoſe of the great men went with it attended by a convoy. The bulk of the army often marched an hour or two before the SHAH; for in removing from one encampment to another, he ſometimes galloped the whole way.

The SHAH had about 60 women, and very near the ſame number of eunuchs, who generally rode near his perſon, and kept pace with him: before him were his SHATIRS[c], preceded by the CHIAUX[d], and before them the KESHIKEHI[e], being the foremoſt of his body-guard, who were beſt acquainted with the track the SHAH was to take: theſe ſpread a mile or two before him and terminating in a kind of angle, gave notice of the SHAH's approach, by crying out in TURKISH, YERRIE, or make way: this is called the KOURUCK, which is always troubleſome, and ſometimes fatal to ſuch as cannot get out of their way; for when they meet with people in the SHAH's rout, rivers, precipices, and rocks are no excuſe; they drive at them with their maces, and make all before them fly at their approach.

When NADIR travelled with his women, the army was kept at almoſt a mile diſtance; but when he went without them, people were permitted to come nearer. In the latter part of his reign he ſeldom did travel without them; probably the better to avoid any evil deſigns againſt his perſon. The SHAH's women, and indeed others of diſtinction, rode on white horſes, in the manner as men ride; but when they did not go in his company, they were uſually carried on camels, ſeated in machines reſembling a covered waggon, and hung like panniers over a pack-ſaddle, which I have already mentioned. On theſe occaſions they were entirely concealed under a covering of crimſon cloth; and in this manner they rode one on each ſide, conducted with the uſual pomp: the motion is very diſagreeable, and apt to create a diſorder, not unlike the ſea-ſickneſs. The

[c] Running footmen. [d] Chanters. [e] Watch-guard.

ſick

ſick ladies, and female ſervants of the court, were always conceaſed in the ſame manner, under a covering of crimſon cloth: other women, of no particular diſtinction, rode on horſes, or mules; theſe mixed among the crowd, but had a linen veil over their faces, and wore great coats, reſembling thoſe of the men; but the poorer ſort had a white veil, which covered their whole body. The women belonging to the OUSBEG TARTARS were not ſo ſcrupulous about hiding their faces as the PERSIANS. The number of women in the camp, except upon perilous enterprizes, in proportion to the men, is generally one to ten.

The SHAH when ſick uſed to be carried in a horſe-litter: other people of faſhion were ſeated, or laid on mules upon a large flat pack-ſaddle, boliſtered up: but the common way of carrying their ſick men, is to fix two poles to meet in the middle over the neck of the horſe, at the point of the ſaddle, the breaſt and ſhoulders reſting between the interſtices of the poles.

Upon extraordinary occaſions the rear-guard was ſaid to be very numerous, conſiſting of 8000 YESAUL: their buſineſs was not only to ſecure the rear of the army; but to prevent ſtraggling or deſertion; therefore they examined every one who quitted the camp; and if there was the leaſt ground of ſuſpicion, they would not ſuffer even a ſtranger to go about his buſineſs without a bribe. If the beaſts belonging to travellers happened to tire while the camp was removing; theſe fellows, inſtead of aſſiſting them, frequently drove the owners away, and converted the cattle and baggage to their own uſe.

In marching, greateſt part of the ſoldiery, as well as the YESAUL, kept in a collected, but irregular body: the followers of the camp covered ſeveral miles. The elephants and camels were employed only in carrying great burthens: the laſt are of ſeveral kinds, but the moſt ſerviceable is that called the MAJE, which have two bunches on their backs: they are generally fed with balls made of meal; and though very hardy, they frequently die of epidemical diſtempers.

NADIR's

NADIR's ſtanding forces were never fixed to any determinate number; though they were computed at 200,000 men. The following is as perfect a ſketch as I could procure, of his principal attendants and ſoldiery; for the ſupport of which PERSIA has been ruined, and INDIA ſpoiled of 120 millions ſterling, with more than as many thouſand ſouls, viz.

60 Black eunuchs: there were few or no white ones in his ſervice.

200 SHATIR, or running footmen.

1,000 RIKAH, or ſtirrup-holders.

10,000 KULAM, or ſlaves belonging to the king: their chief in the TURKISH language is called KULLER AGASI[1], and the inferior KULAMS are thoſe ſoldiers which the provinces equip by the SHAH's order: he paid them but they were a kind of ſervants to the KULAMS.

2000 BEGZADE'E, or gentlemen's ſons.

1000 KITCHUDAZADE'E, or ſons of elders: the laſt three were the genteeleſt of the ſoldiery; many of them were employed in guarding the treaſury at KÆLAT, and on other important occaſions.

4000 KESHIKEHI, or watch-guard, otherwiſe called HEMISHI KISHIK, becauſe they were always on duty: they wore white turbans; ſome of them carried ſabres, and others ſabres and pikes; their pay was 250 crowns per annum: this watch was continually called over in the night.

900 CHIAUX: they carried in their hand a batton with a double ſilver crook on the end of it; they had alſo a feather with a ſilver boſs on their cap, which was flat on the top: theſe frequently chanted moral ſentences and encomiums on the SHAH, occaſionally proclaiming alſo his victories as he paſſed along.

500 GIARKEHIE, who wore in their caps the beard of an arrow in braſs, and were employed as criers and heralds.

150 FERRASH, under two chiefs becauſe of the different branches of their buſineſs; one of them performed executions in the SHAH's preſence; and therefore a party of theſe attended at a ſmall diſtance from his pavilion, where they were employed as the inſtruments of his vengeance: the o-

[1] Chief of the ſlaves.

ther ſuperintended the pitching and dreſſing of the SHAH's tents, and had the care of the preſents brought to his majeſty.

8000 YESAUL, who wore a braſs-knob on their caps: they were diſtinguiſhed into two ſorts, the YESAUL KUR and YESAUL SONBET. Their leaders were in great conſideration on account of their near attendance on the king's perſon: they formerly acted as grand marſhals, and judges of the houſhold, and latterly as maſters of the ceremonies.

250 NÆSSAKHCHI, theſe are known by a feather in their caps: they have large pay, and great power, puniſhing offenders in the neighbourhood of the camp, without bringing them before any higher officer or magiſtrate; theſe at the head of other ſcouts are alſo diſperſed to guard the avenues; for it is not uncommon for robbers to rip open tents, and carry off baggage during the night, even in the camp.

100 GILODAR; thoſe who are charged with the direction of the couriers, and their horſes: all theſe different ranks are horſemen.

12,000 GIZAIREI, theſe are foot-ſoldiers; they are well cloathed, and carry very heavy muſquets with wide bores: they form a body, which has an imperfect reſemblance of the EUROPEAN infantry, and were modelled by NADIR himſelf to be of great uſe, which PERSIAN foot-ſoldiers ſeldom were before his time.

40,000 KARA-KUSHUN [a], are alſo foot-ſoldiers, whoſe pay is only 30 crowns per annum: the name is TURKISH and ſignifies black guard, and they make but an indifferent appearance, compared with the others already mentioned.

The following are called after the name of the nations or countries from whence they come.

50,000 AFGHANS; theſe have lands aſſigned them in KANDAHAR, beſides 80 crowns per annum: they uſe the bow, lance, and ſword, and are very brave. But this denomination alſo includes the ABDOLLEES.

20,000 AFSHARS [b].

6000 OUSBEG-TARTARS, of KHIEVA, BOKHARA, and SAMARCAND.

[a] I have put theſe, and the 13 preceding denominations of ſoldiery in the ſingular number, as correſponding moſt with the PERSIAN pronunciation.

[b] NADIR himſelf was of their tribes: they live moſtly in tents, and inhabit part of the province of KHORASAN and the country to the eaſtward of it.

6000 TUR-

6000 TURKUMAN[i] TARTARS of TURKUMANIA.

6000 BULUG, or BALOUCHE[k], of the tribes in the ſouthern coaſt of PERSIA.

The above computation falls ſhort of 200,000 men; but they may be reckoned in this proportion.

The pay given to the ſoldiers by NADIR, was computed at 100 crowns per annum one with another, beſides an allowance which chiefly conſiſted of rice; but the dearneſs of proviſions, and the expenſive manner of living in the camp, rendered this large pay abſolutely neceſſary. They wear no uniform, but are obliged to buy all their cloathing of the SHAH at an extravagant price, and to keep YETIMS[l] at their own expence.

They amuſe themſelves by galloping before the army 8 or 10 at a time, diſcharging their pieces at each other with powder: it was a circumſtance which ſurprized me, that they were permitted even in the camp to fire off their pieces, blow their trumpets, and beat their drums for their amuſement; but this might ariſe from a political cauſe to prevent their cabalLing: they are ſeldom exerciſed except in ſhooting with the bow, or with a ſingle ball at a mark, at which they are very expert, and no leſs exact in loading their piece; for except it be in time of action, they weigh their powder, as well as fit the ball to the bore: but the barrels of theſe pieces, ſome of which are match-locks, are ſo ill tempered, that they will not bear a quick fire. The greateſt part of their regular forces carry a muſquet and ſabre; but the OUSBEGS, and ſeveral others in the army, are not ſo well provided; ſome having a ſpear, or a battle-ax, others a bow and arrow, others a ſingle piſtol; but all of them wear ſabres, in the uſe of which they, as well as the PERSIANS, are very dextrous. As to bayonets, by which the EUROPEAN forces have ſometimes performed ſuch feats, they have no notion of them.

[i] This name is common to another people near the borders of TURKEY, being tranſplanted in conſequence of the conqueſt made by TAMERLANE; the original people of this name being the inhabitants of the eaſtern coaſt of the CASPIAN.

[k] Sometimes conſidered as a tribe of AFGHANS, whom they reſemble in their countenance; but are not ſo well civilized in their manners, nor live ſo much in cities.

[l] YETIM ſignifies an orphan; but theſe are conſidered as ſervants, who when their maſters die, or fall in battle, are ready to ſerve as ſoldiers.

NADIR, according to the cuſtom of the PERSIAN kings, had the policy to oblige ſome, and to encourage all his army in the uſe of coſtly furniture: the officers, and even the ſoldiers of rank, have the bridles of their horſes mounted with ſilver, with a mane-piece of plate, and an ornamental chain*; likewiſe their ſword, belts, and leathern accoutrements are mounted with the ſame metal: the handles of their battle-axes are alſo for the moſt part ſtudded or covered with thin ſilver plates, and in their ſaſhes about their waiſt they wear a knife, the handle and caſe of which is alſo covered with ſilver; but the workmanſhip is indifferent. Certain officers, and perſons of diſtinction, were obliged to wear gold-caſed knives, and ſome of their great men, had ſilver ſtirrups.

It has been obſerved, that ſoldiers generally fight beſt when they have ſomething to loſe, if their wealth does not involve them in effeminacy. ALEXANDER indeed encouraged his MACEDONIANS, by repreſenting the PERSIAN riches as an object of plunder, and conſequently as a motive to exert themſelves; but under NADIR, we do not find that any of their enemies conſidered the valuable effects of the PERSIAN ſoldiery in that light. This method ſerved alſo to keep them dependent, by their being obliged to expend their money in articles of vanity: thus the late king of PORTUGAL humbled his nobility by indulging their pride; and other CHRISTIAN princes have done the ſame by their ſubjects with great ſucceſs.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A brief account of the immenſe value of the horſe-furniture belonging to NADIR SHAH. *Converſation with* MUSTAPHA KHAN *upon that ſubject. A remarkable inſtance of* NADIR'S *cruelty, and his manner of giving audience to* EUROPEANS. *Suppreſſion of the rebellion in* SHIRASS.

HAVING now viſited the camp at large, and informed myſelf of theſe particulars concerning it; I was deſirous to ſee that part of the SHAH'S riches, which conſiſted in horſe-furniture. He had four

* See repreſentation of NADIR'S horſe in the frontiſpiece of the fourth volume.

complete

complete ſets, one mounted with pearls, another with rubies, a third with emeralds, and the laſt with diamonds, moſt of which were of ſo prodigious a ſize as hardly to merit belief; for many of them appeared as big as a pigeon's egg [a]. I could not but regard them with wonder, not more for their immenſe value, than for the barbarous taſte in which they were ſet; for ſome of them did not appear to have any art at all beſtowed on them. I viſited MUSTAPHA KHAN, and took occaſion to mention my ſurprize at the prodigious value of the SHAH's horſe-furniture, which ſo much exceeded any thing I had ever formed an idea of in that kind: I obſerved to him at the ſame time, that jewels in EUROPE appear incomparably brighter and neater ſet; and that if his majeſty would truſt me with one of thoſe bridles, I would procure a complete horſe-furniture to be made in EUROPE, which ſhould exceed any thing that had yet appeared in the world: I ſaid this becauſe it naturally aroſe from the ſubject, and not that I expected NADIR under his circumſtances would conſent to part with his bridle for any ſuch purpoſe; however at another viſit I took occaſion to hint the ſame thing, and the KHAN politely ſaid, "My maſ-"ter has not patience enough to wait till it ſhould be finiſhed."

MUSTAPHA KHAN, as already obſerved from the teſtimony of HADGEE ZAMON, was conſidered as the moſt upright man in the PERSIAN court, and the SHAH now allowed him 10,000 crowns a year. I thought myſelf happy in the regard which he ſhewed me during my ſtay in the camp; and gratitude as well as policy ſeemed to call on me to make him a preſent, which conſiſted of a gold repeating watch, ſome fine cloth, and rich ſilk [b]: he ſhewed ſome repugnance, till I inſiſted on his accepting ſo trifling a mark of my gratitude. In return he preſented me with ſome jewels, part of the plunder of DEHLI, which had once adorned the cap of ſome unhappy INDIAN: the principal jewel conſiſted of a large ſaphir in gold, ſet round with diamonds; theſe laſt were not only ſmall, but bored

[a] What became of thoſe bridles I have not yet heard; for I make no doubt but they were plundered in common with the reſt of the camp, when NADIR was killed about three years after this time.

[b] It may be neceſſary to obſerve, that only ſo much of the preſent was charged to the adventurers, as exceeded the value of the jewels which the KHAN gave me in return.

through

through in the manner the ASIATICS often ſpoil their precious ſtones: the reverſe of this piece was enamelled with flowers. The KHAN had formerly been a priſoner in TURKEY, where he had acquired ſome knowledge of the intereſt of the OTTOMAN court; but he ſeemed to know nothing of any other. At the time of NADIR's death he had the good fortune to be on the road on an embaſſy to TURKEY, and by that means eſcaped the fate he might otherwiſe have met with as a favourite of his maſter.

The 24th in the evening a man was executed with circumſtances that gave me ſtrong impreſſions of the cruel diſpoſition of NADIR, who, in the article of death, could jeſt with a malefactor. A perſon who had collected taxes, was complained of by the peaſants, of whom it appeared he had made greater exactions than he had accounted for to the SHAH: this was capital, and he was accordingly condemned to death: NADIR, as if he had recollected ſomething particular of this perſon, ſaid to him: "I underſtand you can dance well; dance, and I will ſave your life." The man immediately began to dance, no doubt with ſome tranſports of joy; but the SHAH ordered the executioner to ſtrike him upon the legs, which neceſſarily prevented his performance: this tyrant then cried: "the raſcal does not dance well; kill him." After his execution he was brought out near my tent, whence his friends removed him in the night. This was not the only inſtance of NADIR's cruelty that fell under my obſervation while I was in the camp; for I ſaw ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, who rode about with their feet wrapt in white cloths, having been beaten till their nails came off their toes, and the ſinews made bare, which is no extraordinary thing to people of the firſt quality: and ſince I am upon this ſubject, I will give another example of NADIR's avarice and barbarity, which happened a little before I was in the camp.

The SHAH having appointed a certain general as governor of a province, impoſed an exorbitant tax on it, to be levied in ſix months: at the expiration of the time the governor was ſent for to the camp, and ordered to produce the account. He did ſo, but it amounted only to half the ſum demanded. The SHAH called him a raſcal; and telling him he had ſtolen

ſtolen the other half of the money, ordered the executioners to baſtonade him to death: his eſtate alſo being confiſcated, all his effects fell very ſhort of the demands. The ſervants of the deceaſed were then ordered to come into the SHAH's preſence, and he enquired of them if there was any thing left belonging to their maſter; to which they anſwered, ONLY A DOG. He then commanded the dog to be brought before him; and obſerved that he appeared to be much honeſter than his maſter had been; however that he ſhould be led through the camp from tent to tent, and beaten with ſticks, and wherever he expired, the maſter of ſuch tent ſhould pay the ſum deficient. Accordingly the dog was carried to the tents of the miniſters ſucceſſively, who hearing the caſe, immediately gave ſums of money according to their abilities, to procure the removal of the dog; by which means the whole ſum the SHAH demanded was raiſed in a few hours time.

Cruel as this tyrant was, ſome of his predeceſſors have not fallen much ſhort of him: how will cuſtom render the heart obdurate to the impreſſions of humanity, and the ear deaf to the calls of mercy! It was an antient puniſhment in PERSIA for an offender to be put between two boards, and ſawn aſunder. SHAH ABAS the GREAT is ſaid to have cut off a man's noſe, and the fleſh from other parts of his body with his own hand, and afterwards obliged the ſufferer to eat them.

To reſume my own ſtory: being uncertain which rout the army would take, and by no means convenient to ſtay any longer in the camp; the 25th I viſited MUSTAPHA KHAN, and begged, as he had honoured me with ſo many marks of his politeneſs and friendſhip, that he would now aſſiſt me with his advice, what rout I ought to take to ASTRABAD: for conſidering the ſituation of PERSIA, and the dangers I had already gone through, I thought I could not take too much care. The KHAN told me very ingenuouſly, "You muſt not go the direct road to ASTRABAD; "for the paſſage through the mountains to the north-eaſt of CASBIN is "inhabited by people who are in circumſtances to do any deſperate ac- "tion. I adviſe you to return back to GHILAN, and if you cannot go "from thence by water to ASTRABAD, you muſt take your chance by "land

"land through MAZANDERAN; but carry a good guard with you. I will "give you two faithful ſoldiers, who ſhall ſee you ſafe from hence to A-"BAR; there you may take other ſoldiers." I had now with me a freſh company, my RUSSIAN ſervant only having been with me at ASTRABAD; and of theſe ſome refuſed to go at all, and others were diffident what rout we ought to take.

The next day arrived news, that the king's forces had recovered all the country about SHIRASS, and were preparing to take the city by ſtorm. I had flattered myſelf, that the SHAH would have called me before him; but either from the diſtreſſed ſituation of his affairs, or his perſuaſion of the truth of the account I gave in, I had no opportunity of being queſtioned, or of indulging my curioſity ſo fully as I deſired. The manner in which EUROPEANS were preſented to him is this: they walked faſt into his preſence, bowing three times; and though the PERSIANS do not uncover themſelves, yet as he knew it is a mark of reſpect among EUROPEANS, he required it of them. NADIR took occaſion more than once to obſerve of the ENGLISH, "that they are bold, and appear like men of buſineſs*." He was now expecting further news from SHIRASS, and by his ſlow marches towards CASBIN, ſeemed as if he intended to go himſelf, if his forces did not ſucceed in the ſouthern part of the empire. It is hardly credible with what untired attention he applied himſelf to buſineſs.

COSSIM KHAN the chancellor being much in favour with the SHAH, was employed in writing an account of his wars: I queſtion if thoſe writings have at preſent any exiſtence; but if they have, as NADIR had a ſight of them himſelf from time to time, they muſt be ſuſpected of great partiality. I have had occaſion to obſerve, that the chancellor, as well as MUSTAPHA KHAN ſupported his reputation; and as the former had given ſeveral marks of his attention to our commercial intereſt, I thought it proper to make him a preſent, though he alſo ſhewed ſome repugnance to the acceptance of it. I then took my leave of MUSTAPHA KHAN,

* He had in paſt times frequent occaſion to ſee the ſervants of the EAST-INDIA company.

and

and received his commiſſions for certain things which he wanted from EUROPE[4]. He delivered me into the charge of an under-officer and a ſoldier, to attend me as far as ABAR.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The author's journey from the PERSIAN *camp to* LANGAROOD. *Regulations of the poſtmaſters in* PERSIA: *a remarkable ſtory of one of them; with an account of the* PERSIAN *couriers.*

THE 27th of March we ſet out from the camp, the officer and ſoldier charged with the care of us were of the YESAUL, who, as I have obſerved, are diſtinguiſhed by their caps; and whoſe office it is in time of action, to ſhoot thoſe who turn their back on the enemy. Theſe men had been in INDIA with the SHAH, and informed me of ſome particulars in relation to that memorable expedition. This day we travelled about 6 leagues to the village of SHUROCHI. The different rout I now took, exhibited the ſame melancholy proſpect of vaſt tracts of excellent arable land lying waſte in one of the fineſt climates in the world; ſo that I could not comprehend how the SHAH ſupported his army: the houſes ſupplied only fuel, and we ſaw ſeveral maroders pulling them down for that purpoſe. The next day we paſſed through a ruined village, covered on the oppoſite ſide with an inacceſſible mountain: here we diſcovered five perſons, who as we approached, ran to their horſes, which were ready ſaddled, and tied to trees: they took to their arms as if they meant to attack us; on our part we prepared for a defence. Our two ſoldiers, who did not ſeem to have our preſervation much at heart, loitered behind, and entered into a parley with them: this gave me ſome uneaſineſs, and induced me to ſtop upon an eminence attended by one ſervant, to ſee the iſſue of their conference; but my interpreter ſoon rode back full ſpeed, and reproached me for ſtaying behind, declaring that if we did not keep together upon our guard, we might be cut off; for that he had diſcovered four of thoſe men were gone round the hill, whilſt

[4] The ſubſequent ſtate of our affairs never permitted the execution of this commiſſion.

one kept the ſoldiers in parley. His fears were not without foundation, for the ſoldiers who ſoon came up with us, had taken a ſtolen horſe in exchange from one of them, who acknowledged to him, that the reputation which the EUROPEANS have acquired for their dexterity in the uſe of fire-arms, had been our greateſt ſecurity. At laſt we reached ASDOLEN, one of the leaſt deſerted villages I had ſeen in this journey; we had been eight hours on the road, but found ourſelves advanced only five computed leagues.

The 29th, We aſcended a mountain, the ſeveral turnings of the road making between three and four miles: the air on the top was ſo extremely rarified, and the winds ſo piercing, that it was with difficulty I drew my breath. In the valley we found a very different climate, and ABAR appeared before us in a delightful ſituation: this city however was much in the ſame circumſtances as the others, and it was not without difficulty we obtained a lodging. The garriſon here was commanded by a ſon of MAGHMUD the AFGHAN, who, as the PERSIANS ſay, ſet out with only 12,000 men, when he conquered ſo great a part of this empire. The mountains, over which lay our direct road, being covered with ſnow, we were under a neceſſity of going near three leagues about; and in the ſpace of four leagues, the road was ſo formed, that we were obliged to paſs a branch of the KIZILAZAN ſixty-five times; one of my company having had the curioſity to count them: this river was about thirty feet wide, and two or three feet deep, full of rocks and round ſtones, and the ſtream rapid. After ten hours journey we arrived at a deſolate caravanſerai, where we found nothing but water; we had however provided ourſelves at a village on the road, where the inhabitants entertained us with great hoſpitality: I obſerved a tree with a number of rags tied to the branches, theſe were ſo many charms which paſſengers coming from GHILAN, a province remarkable for agues, had left there in a fond expectation of leaving their diſeaſe alſo on the ſame ſpot.

The 31ſt, We travelled near ten hours without finding any proviſion on the road: as we approached the mountains which cover GHILAN, we found the reflection of the ſun ſo ſtrong, that it was with difficulty we

defended

defended ourſelves againſt the ſcorching heat. At length we deſcried ARSEVIL, a ſmall village, the ſight of which ſupported our drooping ſpirits, almoſt exhauſted with fatigue and hunger; but we had themortification to find only one narrow paſs to it, and that was fenced up with large fir-trees, and a great bank of earth: we ſuſpected that the village was in ſtate of rebellion, and to force ourſelves into it, might be attended with ſome dangerous conſequences: however neceſſity ſilenced our ſcruples, and we ſummoned all our ſtrength, to remove the impediment, which coſt us no ſmall labour; it ſeems the villagers, out of fear of the SHAH's couriers, had made uſe of this expedient.

Spring was already advanced to the fulneſs of its charms: the brightneſs of the ſky, the falls of water from the rocks, the variety of verdure on the different trees on the mountains, the lawns and corn-fields, filled the imagination with the moſt pleaſing ideas: we had now before us a noble and extenſive proſpect, ſtupendous mountains riſing gradually on each other, ſome of them with their ſummits covered with ſnow, whilſt others concealed their heads in clouds. In the valley appeared many ruined villages; but the ſerpentine channel of the KIZILAZAN, with the variety of lawns and woods, formed a delightful ſcene. The courſe of this river, which is one of the moſt famous in PERSIA, is rapid, and the ſoil it paſſes over in many places, tinges its waters with a red colour*. The return of ſpring naturally delights the mind; and to me it afforded ſo much the more pleaſure, as my paſt winter had been attended with many circumſtances of diſtreſs. How happy, thought I, might PERSIA be, if a general depravity of manners did not involve her inhabitants in ſuch an inextricable confuſion; but how much more happy are thoſe countries, whoſe government is not deſpotic, and whoſe people are inſpired with ſentiments of virtue and true religion; the only means of blunting the edge of thoſe calamities to which human life is ſubject. The deſolate country through which we had travelled for ſo many days, made GHILAN the more ſtriking. ARZEVIL was bordered by olive-trees: the walks in their gardens were covered with vines, and their fruit-trees in

* KIZIL ſignifying red, it is probable this river may be called KIZILAZAN from ſome ſuch reaſon.

bloſſom: here were few marks of art, but nature, with a little induſtry, ſeemed to furniſh all that was needful or pleaſant.

Upon our entrance into the village, we were received with marks of hoſpitality; for the peaſants knew we ſhould pay for what our occaſions required; but they were much alarmed on account of the king's couriers [b], who without pity take, and without mercy ride the horſes of the poor inhabitants. In fact we had not been in the village two hours before eight of them arrived, who contrary to the uſual cuſtom, were armed with muſquets, though in general they wear only ſabres: their buſineſs was to examine, and take the depoſition of the villagers concerning thirty robbers, who had lately infeſted the country, and of whom we had ſeen a party of five, three days before.

Theſe couriers wear a white ſaſh girded from their ſhoulders to their waiſt many times round their bodies, by which means they are enabled to ride for many days without great fatigue: they take horſes wherever they can find them, which frequently are not returned to the owners: they even diſmount travellers, and often leave them to walk with their baggage. The injuſtice of this behaviour occaſions their being ſometimes repulſed and ſeverely treated; though according to the laws, an intire ſubmiſſion is required, as they are employed for the king's buſineſs. Poſtmaſters are ſupplied by the king's orders with 30, 40, or 50 horſes, according to their appointments; but as the demand is frequently greater than they are able to ſupply, and the SHAH's allowance very ſmall, they are often obliged to abſcond, which is a great cauſe of the barbarity of the couriers. One of theſe poſtmaſters being challenged upon this account by NADIR, anſwered in theſe terms: "That I have not ſupplied your cou-"riers with horſes, is moſt certain; becauſe for every ten horſes you "provided, you ſent me twenty couriers: a man had better die at once, "than live to ſerve a raſcal;" and immediately he ſtabbed himſelf [c]. The SHAH cried out "that is a brave fellow; ſave him:" but it was too late.

[b] Whom the PERSIANS call CHOPPARS.

[c] This is but the ſecond inſtance that I have known of a PERSIAN's being guilty of ſuicide.

Whilſt

Whilſt I was in this village I obſerved, not without indignation, boys of twenty, armed with a military authority, giving blows on the heads of thoſe, whoſe grey beards ſpoke their age, and the reverence due to it. This ſort of treatment was practiſed ſometimes for very trifling offences, and frequently for no offence at all: nor could I reſtrain my own ARMENIAN ſervants on many occaſions from following this BRAVE example; till I aſſured them they ſhould receive ten ſtrokes for one they gave. Having refreſhed ourſelves, we departed in the evening, taking our rout over a high mountain, from whence we deſcended into a pleaſant and fruitful valley, and croſſing the KIZILAZAN, we took up our lodging two leagues diſtance from ARSEVIL.

The 1ſt of April, we paſſed through the narrow paths in the mountains which guard the province of GHILAN, in view of many pleaſant valleys, and travelling 7 leagues, arrived at CUEDUN; here we lodged in a very mean caravanſerai, which we left early the next morning, and arrived happily at RESHD.

CHAP. XL.

The author arrives at LANGAROOD; *and finds naval preparations making for an expedition to* BALKHAN. *He is viſited by a* MULLAH, *with whom he enters into a converſation. The* MULLAH's *notion of marriage, alſo of temperance, dreſs, &c. An account of the women, their marriages, domeſtic ſlavery, and ſubjection in* PERSIA. *Thoughts on jealouſy, and marriages in* EUROPE *compared with thoſe of* ASIA.

AFTER the pleaſure of ſeeing Mr. BROWN, and my other friends in RESHD, the 4th of April I departed from thence, and arrived early the next morning at LANGAROOD, where I was for the third time, kindly received by Mr. ELTON, and two of the FRENCH miſſionaries, who were then with him. They informed me, that all the ſhips and veſſels on the PERSIAN coaſt of the CASPIAN, had been taken into the SHAH's ſervice, in order to carry proviſions to BALKHAN; the king purſuing

ſuing his intention of erecting a fortification in that place, with a view to keep the TURKUMAN TARTARS in awe; and by driving them from that advantageous retreat, in ſome meaſure prevent their incurſions[a]. This affair was ſo warmly proſecuted, that the ſhips already laden at ENZELLEE by the RUSSIAN and ARMENIAN merchants for ASTRACHAN, were threatened to have their cargoes taken out. Theſe naval preparations were conducted by the admiral MAHOMMED KHAN, whoſe ignorance of maritime affairs I have already mentioned: he was ſo little a maſter of his buſineſs, that he did not know the neceſſity of navigating ſhips at ſome diſtance from the ſhore; nor that boats, on the other hand, muſt coaſt it. Finding me returned ſucceſsfully from the camp, he appeared jealous of my reſentment of his former conduct; and apprehenſive that the value of the piſtols I had preſented him was greater than it really was[b]; being ignorant alſo how to uſe the ſcrew-barrils, he offered to return them; to which I had no objection.

Policy did not require the ſemblance of reſentment on my part; and charity ſeldom warrants the reality of it. A mind ſuperior to the injuries we ſuffer by the weakneſs or wickedneſs of others, ſeems to be the ſureſt mark of that generoſity of ſpirit which chriſtianity requires, and bids faireſt to ſecure that tranquility which conſtitutes in great meaſure our temporal happineſs. If we reflect that men generally act like themſelves, and are no better than their heads and their hearts permit them to be; at the ſame time that this conſideration teaches us whom to truſt in the affairs of the world, it ſhould inſtruct us alſo how to ſtifle our reſentments; and to think it our greateſt glory to triumph over the pride, that is, the weakneſs of human nature. This is moſt certainly the leſſon which the great law-giver of the CHRISTIAN world both taught and practiſed.

MAHOMMED KHAN was ordered to march towards ASTRABAD with the forces under his command. I viſited him to enquire of what was paſſing in ASTRABAD; and underſtood that things were yet in the utmoſt diſorder. He and his family were under great affliction, news being come that MIR HASSAN BEG, a general, and one of his near relations, was run

[a] See Chap. XX. [b] He had heard that thoſe ſent to ALI KOULI KHAN were worth 1000 crowns.

from

from the SHAH's camp to the rebels at SHIRASS: nor were his thoughts leſs perplexed on account of the difficulties he apprehended in the expedition to TURKUMANIA. He pretended to have received orders in relation to the decree which the SHAH had granted, for the payment of my loſs at ASTRABAD, and demanded an account of the particulars of it, which I gave him.

I was viſited here by a MULLAH, who came in company with SHAHVERDIE BEG, the perſon to whom I was ſo much obliged: they entertained us with ſeveral quotations out of their poets, particularly with regard to the pleaſures and miſeries of life, ariſing from the ſociety of women; and expreſſed themſelves upon this ſubject with great delicacy. SHAHVERDIE BEG was an admirer of BACCHUS, as well as of VENUS. After other remarks the MULLAH obſerved to me, that though their law permitted a plurality of wives, and did not reſtrain men in their number of concubines; yet they always conſidered him as the moſt virtuous man, who confined himſelf to one wife, without any concubine: he intimated his opinion at the ſame time, that celibacy ſeemed to be a war againſt nature, and was conſequently a vice.

The tendency of the MULLAH's doctrine was plainly upon the CHRISTIAN ſcheme, of ONE to ONE; and that the ſtate of marriage is the ſtate of nature; conſidering man as an animal, a rational, a ſocial, or an accountable being. The practice of the MAHOMMEDANS however ſeems to oppoſe all theſe principles, except the firſt: no man can have a natural right to a plurality of women, becauſe of his ſuperior wealth and fortune; for if he has many, the poor man cannot have one, unleſs we ſuppoſe the lives of men to be conſiderably ſhorter than thoſe of women, which is not the caſe; neither are there more women born than men. It has been a ſubject often diſputed, if polygamy tends to the encreaſe of mankind: it is true in countries where it is allowed, hardly a ſingle woman is to be found after the age of 16 or 18; whereas this is not the caſe in CHRISTENDOM: yet if marriage among the CHRISTIANS was ſo univerſal as among the MAHOMMEDANS, it may be preſumed they would have the advantage, if they have it not as the caſe now ſtands; becauſe a

deſect

defect in nature in one man, could render only one woman infertile; whereas among the polygamists it renders many so. There are other reasons in favour of the CHRISTIANS, arising from the freedom so natural to mankind even from their infancy, which MAHOMMEDAN women and children do not enjoy: add to this, the plagues, wars, cruelties, and famines which happen among the latter, more than in CHRISTENDOM: but it is a matter of no great moment which has the advantage, if it is presumed that it will not make any difference in the religion or politics of either.

Only four wives for life are esteemed honourable in PERSIA; and though men of fortune have generally more women, the rest are held as concubines. The notion of their marrying their sisters has been long exploded. Before marriage the woman is examined in regard to her person by the mother, or other relation of the man; as the man is by the parents or friends of the woman. A report being made, the woman's parents demand the price, which being paid, the judge [c], or, where there is none, the priest [d], having received notice that the parties are ready, marries them, oftentimes without their having ever seen each other. The PERSIANS may marry for a month, or any time agreed upon between the parties, in the presence of the priest, and separate when the time is expired; but the woman must not marry again immediately, unless she is certain of not being with child. If she is pregnant, the man is obliged to support her for a year; and if the child is a male, it is his; if a female, hers. But marriage does not give them any liberty; for the women, to all appearance, are considered as little more than servile creatures formed for the pleasure and indulgence of their lord.

Happy were it for the CHRISTIAN world if women were more generally taught from the earliest time of life, that rebellion against husbands in EUROPE is at least as great a crime as ASIATIC tyranny over wives; and the thoughts of the latter must necessarily make them shudder. The medium may be found in some countries [e]; but the extreme is apt to prevail. Women are not often taught the doctrine of subordination otherwise than by

[c] KAZI. [d] MULLAH. [e] Perhaps as much in ENGLAND as any where.

custom;

cuſtom; which they ſometimes call, and much oftener think an arbitrary invaſion of their rights: the underſtanding and the heart ought to ſubſcribe to this doctrine, in order to eſtabliſh this rule of conduct upon a ſolid baſis. Thus women might more generally comprehend, that ſubordination is neceſſary to the very being of government; that the pre-eminence which men enjoy, conſiſts chiefly in a ſuperior toil; that whether a man has the mind of an angel, or a brute, ſtill the gentle paſſions, and a ſubmiſſive conduct of a wife, muſt eſtabliſh her power in the heart of her huſband more permanently than all the arts of pride and rebellion; thus it muſt be if ſhe means to poſſeſs his affections: and if ſhe does not mean it, he has the greater reaſon to maintain that ſuperiority with which nature has inveſted him. And as providence has appointed man the guardian and protector of woman, he ought therefore to be the chief object of her love; not in an abſtracted ſpeculation, but in a manner ſuitable to the great ends of providence.

To enter deep into this argument, is not my purpoſe; I only mean to recommend an obſervance of the wiſe diſpoſitions of providence, and to ſhew how reciprocal the happineſs of mankind, as ſocial beings, muſt neceſſarily be, as well from the make of the human mind, as from the neceſſities to which our condition is ſubjected. But there is one particular which I think ought never to be forgotten: the ſenſible part of mankind are ever lamenting the great want of friendſhip in the world: they form high ideas of the charms of it: they purſue it with anxious deſires: but how few have virtue enough to enjoy it; and of thoſe few, how ſmall is the number of ſuch as are ſo fortunate to find their equals; inſomuch that it has been emphatically ſaid, "there are as many kings as friends." It is a common obſervation, that men excel women in friendſhip, as women do men in love: it is certain the firſt depends moſt on the underſtanding, the laſt on the affections; but it would not be any ſubject of wonder, conſidering the modern polite education of EUROPEAN women, if they were deficient in both: to the former at leaſt great diſcernment, as well as goodneſs of heart are eſſentially neceſſary: however as this amounts to no more than opinion, I may declare mine; that if there are not many friendſhips

in the wedded ſtate, there are yet fewer in any other; conſequently thoſe who are adventurers for a friend, ought to run the riſque of marriage, if they can ſo temper their paſſions with judgment, as to diſcern the difference between love and friendſhip, and make a happy mixture of both.

Mankind are in many reſpects the ſame in all countries; but the MAHOMMEDANS certainly deviate from the laws of GOD and nature, by an arbitrary invaſion of the RIGHTS of one half of the ſpecies. Tell a MAHOMMEDAN, that EUROPEAN women are permitted to walk abroad with their faces uncovered, to ſee, and to ſpeak to men: he cries with aſtoniſhment! "How is it poſſible that the CHRISTIANS can ſuffer ſuch an abuſe?" By this we ſee he has no notion of a PRINCIPLE ariſing from education and religion. Talk to him of making wives the guardians of their own honour, with ſome prudent reſtrictions, as women may be differently circumſtanced: he ſays, "Alas! women are the ſame in all countries; if this "conduct was permitted among us, inſtead of a plurality of wives, what "ſecurity could we have in the property of one? I thank my ſtars that I "was born a MAHOMMEDAN." In the light which they ſee things, this is very eaſy to imagine; but they forget, that their women would have a juſter reaſon to bleſs their STARS, had they been born CHRISTIANS, at leaſt in countries where they enjoy one common liberty with the men.

Women in ASIA may ſometimes live in harmony in the HARRAM: their lord may have a ſecurity in the poſſeſſion of their perſons: kind treatment may even engage their hearts, but not upon ſolid principles. We often ſee cuſtom and habit prevail over nature; but can a woman who loves a man, bear a competition for his diſtinguiſhed regard, without ſuffering the corroding pains of jealouſy?

The joys of an EUROPEAN huſband, who underſtands his religion as a CHRISTIAN, and his obligations as a ſocial being, are certainly founded in reaſon and nature: but to abate the triumphs of their boaſted ſuperiority over the MAHOMMEDANS, let us conſider the number whoſe lives are rendered unpleaſant; how few are compleatly happy, and how many miſerable by the methods eſtabliſhed in EUROPE in the marriage-ſtate. Theſe evils

evils ſeem to ariſe chiefly from one capital error, which men are apt to fall into. Our paſſions are as eſſential a part of our nature as our reaſon; and women, with ſome difference of objects, are equally ſubject to them with men. Where an ABSURD EDUCATION does not make their vanity preponderate, love will ever prove the ruling paſſion in a woman's breaſt; it will tincture all her thoughts, and give a bias to every part of her conduct; nor is this her crime, but her virtue and felicity, the order of providence, and the wiſe deſtination of nature. The great ſecret of life then, is to find a proper object for that paſſion: the huſband muſt be himſelf the lover, if he means to be beloved: by the conſiſtency of his own conduct he muſt inſpire his wife with true notions of happineſs, that is, with ſenments of true virtue and religion; and thus he may preſerve inviolate in the higheſt ſenſe the excluſive property to which he is intitled.

But there is a great difference between a manly rational love, and a paſſionate fondneſs. The eſteem which women of ſentiments uſually have for men, riſes or falls in proportion to the opinion they have of their wiſdom; but the effeminate ſervilities of a doating fondneſs bid fair to bring on that ſatiety or contempt which he is moſt ſolicitous to prevent. However ſtrong the paſſion of ſovereignty may be in the breaſt of ſome women, the man who renounces his ſuperiority, will for that reaſon, become an object of her contempt. A maſculine tenderneſs, and politeneſs of manners, are the beſt means of tying the bands of wedlock, and making them graceful, honourable, and productive of ſolid happineſs; towards women of diſtinguiſhed beauty, becauſe they are moſt in danger, and always think themſelves moſt entitled to regard: to her who is not beautiful, becauſe this diſtinction, if ſhe has any ingeniouſneſs of nature, will inſpire her heart with a reciprocal love; and as it muſt flatter her opinion of her own merit, will give a proof of the taſte and underſtanding of her huſband. Thus in either caſe, he will receive the ſtrongeſt ſecurity of her fidelity, and the beſt earneſt of a mutual felicity. Marriage, upon the CHRISTIAN ſcheme, is undoubtedly well calculated for the happineſs of mankind: all conditions have their peculiar calamities; but I am perſuaded that moſt of the miſeries which are imputed to that ſtate, are re-

ally owing to the abuſe of it; for we ought to remember, that the man or woman, who is a fool before marriage, will not be changed by a miracle; but if there is good ſenſe on either ſide, this may be a natural means of their becoming wiſe.

There is an UTOPIAN ſcheme which promiſes well; but perhaps it is calculated only for UTOPIA: it is indeed too good for the preſent age: I do not mean that of buying wives, as they do in PERSIA, but to take them without dowry: the inheritance of the female, when ſhe firſt marries ſhould revert to the male heir of a family. This ſcheme is not the worſe becauſe it will ſtartle a rich maid bred up in the ſplendor of a court: human nature would be the ſame; MEN WOULD MARRY: the deſire of happineſs would be the ſame, AND MEN WOULD MARRY THE SOONER, becauſe they might rationally promiſe themſelves MORE happineſs than experience can now ordinarily juſtify. In proportion to THEIR felicity would THAT of their wives neceſſarily be: MORE men would marry, becauſe they would follow reaſon and nature more, without being perplexed with the deſires of gratifications, founded in avarice or vanity: and as "no marriage would be made without love, fewer loves would follow without marriage." Virtue, and conſequently happineſs amongſt women, would be cultivated; becauſe they would have only their beauty and accompliſhments to inſpire the breaſt of men. This ſcheme would alſo enforce filial piety and duty to parents: children would draw this bleſſing on their heads; for it would create a ſtronger connexion by the dependance which they would have on their parents, who in caſes of unfortunate marriages, might the better be relieved; whereas parents, by the large dowries now given, are generally incapable of giving more; and their affections often become cold, by their not being ſhewn that reſpect from married children, which they would naturally receive under the ſtronger influence of intereſt.

This deſign might indeed be the worſe for the rich, who have neither beauty, virtue, ſenſe, or any accompliſhment, except their guilding; but the number of theſe, which I hope is not large at preſent, would then be very ſmall. As to the variety of opinions among men concerning female

male charms, they would be more free and genuine, becauſe unbiaſſed by any conſideration foreign to nature: and if one woman was by this ſcheme excluded from marriage, ten would find huſbands, who now languiſh through life in a wretched celibacy; women in general are therefore intereſted to conſent to this propoſal. The riches of the world would be neither more nor leſs than they are now: the RIGHTS of a wife in a free country would not be abridged, except the RIGHTS of independency in point of fortune; and what would they loſe by this, when it is well known, that from hence ariſes the notion of a ſeparate intereſt, which may be purſued WHEN AND HOW they pleaſe; and the frequent conſequence of this opinion is nothing leſs than MISERY to both huſband and wife, as ſome thouſands I believe are ready to atteſt.

Whatever may be the conſequence of too much liberty in EUROPE; in ASIA, at leaſt in that part of it which is the ſubject of theſe remarks; the women are the abject ſlaves of men's appetites, being but little removed from proſtitutes: and with regard to the men, their pleaſures cannot go much deeper than their ſenſes. It is not diſcoverable from the manner in which they treat the ſubject, and as little from the nature of their correſpondence with women, that there are many traces of friendſhip mixed with love; conſequently few partnerſhips in the cares or calamities of life; and as to the pleaſures and amuſements of it, they are neceſſarily confined within very narrow bounds. But for the greater ſecurity of their property in their wives, the only one which NADIR ſeemed to have any regard to, on his coming to the crown he publiſhed an ordinance, which made it preſent death for any perſon whomſoever, who ſhould attempt to corrupt another man's wife, or forcibly take a married woman from her huſband; for which reaſon thoſe who have beautiful daughters give them in marriage very young, that they may not be expoſed to any violence. In the reign of HUSSEIN, men of great diſtinction were wont to ſeize upon what women they pleaſed, whether married or ſingle; but as NADIR himſelf was a ſtrict obſerver of the law juſt mentioned, very few perſons had the boldneſs to violate it in his time.

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The women of GHILAN are very induſtrious; the common ſort are often ſeen abroad without veils, planting rice, and performing other offices of agriculture: and within doors they are employed in ſpinning and working in different manufactures: but women of ſuperior quality work very little, if at all. QUINTUS CURTIUS mentions ALEXANDER's ſending to DARIUS's mother ſeveral pieces of purple, and other rich veſtures, which he had received from MACEDON; that if the manufacture pleaſed her, ſhe might cauſe her grandchildren to be taught how to make them for their diverſion. This, as the hiſtorian repreſents, was reſented as a great indignity, it being eſteemed mean and diſhonourable for ladies in PERSIA to work in wool. ALEXANDER excuſed himſelf as being ignorant of their cuſtoms, alledging that his ſiſter had worked the robe in which he was arrayed. The PERSIAN ladies are ſtill of that opinion; nor is this ſurprizing, if we conſider that in EUROPE, where induſtry is reckoned a principal virtue, there are many women, whoſe birth, fortune, and beauty, might challenge the higheſt attention, who chuſe to be ignorant of the eſſential duties of life, rather than of the vain ceremonies and amuſements of it.

The women in GHILAN are fair, their eyes and hair black; but here, as in other places, they often uſe a drug with which they blacken their eyes: they appear at leaſt to have received a tincture from it, but it leaves a blackneſs on the eye-lids: they eſteem large eyes, inſomuch that as a figure to expreſs the higheſt idea of the beauty of a woman, the females of paradiſe are repreſented with prodigious large eyes. In this province their features are ſmall; thoſe, as well as their ſtature, partaking much of the DELICATE. But in general the GEORGIANS are moſt eſteemed for the charms of their perſons. Their children are bred up in the HARRAM, and like the PORTUGUESE and JEWS, are very handſome when young; but the males ſoon change their countenance. The females who do not labour in the field, are ſeldom ſeen abroad except in a morning before the ſun riſes, and then they are covered with veils, which reach down to their feet. When they travel on horſeback, every lady of diſtinction is not only veiled, but has generally a ſervant, who runs or rides before

fore her to clear the way; and on ſuch occaſions the men, even in the market-places, always turn their backs till the women are paſt, it being thought the higheſt ill manners to look at them; but this awful reſpect is but a proof of the ſlavery in which they are doomed to live. The care which they take to conceal their faces, to avoid the imputation of acting indelicately, and contrary to cuſtom, has made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on them, that I was told of a woman, who being accidentally ſurprized in bathing, ſhewed her whole perſon except her face; to hide which, all her ſolicitude was employed.

The notion which the PERSIANS have imbibed concerning the female world, prevents their being involved in the diſtreſſes of love, ſuch as loſing their ſenſes for the ſake of a woman, though they are betrayed into many improprieties of conduct on this account. Jealouſy which generally prevails in the warmeſt climates, is not unknown to the heart of a a PERSIAN; the nearer approach to the ſun, may affect MAHOMMEDANS as well as CHRISTIANS; but as in the politer countries of CHRISTENDOM, women are generally conſidered, in moſt reſpects, upon an equality with men; and in PERSIA, as much inferior to them; there muſt conſequently be among CHRISTIANS a greater regard to conjugal love. The difference in religions, as well as in the cuſtoms and manners of countries, will hardly admit a compariſon; but as jealouſy ſometimes occaſions the infidelity of women in EUROPE, it is always a ſafeguard to them in ASIA, where they are never conſtituted the guardians of their own honour.

We find cuſtom has a great influence on the manners of mankind in all countries. In FRANCE there is a more liberal indulgence of women than in ENGLAND; and yet, contrary to this rule, I believe it is beyond diſpute that ENGLISH wives greatly exceed the FRENCH in chaſtity; nor in ſaying this do I ſo much depreciate the women of that nation, as aſcribe the natural effect to the cauſe; for the ſuperior excellence of our religion makes a ſtronger hold; whilſt the cuſtom of FRANCE, and genius of the people with regard to their gaiety, is a temptation; for though chaſtity, and great vivacity of ſpirit, are things very conſiſtent; yet the latter is, in its nature, apt to deceive the guards who watch the avenues to the heart,

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and to flatter them into a perſuaſion, that there is no danger near; whereas a more ſerious turn of mind creates an awe, and keeps the enemy at a diſtance. On the other hand, in PORTUGAL, and other countries in the ſouth of EUROPE, where jealouſy abounds moſt, and where the leaſt confidence is repoſed in women, there is moſt incontinence: ſo that it is hard to ſay, whether jealouſy has tended moſt to this immorality; or this immorality eſtabliſhed jealouſy, as a kind of national vice. This paſſion, which ſeems to have its foundation partly in conſtitution, muſt ariſe alſo from indiſcreet engagements, from whence proceed thoſe ſad apprehenſions of being unamiable to the object beloved: but it is natural to conclude, in moſt caſes, that the more vicious men are, the more they ſuſpect others; and conſequently are themſelves the more ſubject to alarms.

Now that I am fallen upon ſo delicate a ſubject, I cannot help remarking, that although men of ſentiments are very cautious of acknowledging, that this paſſion has in the leaſt tinctured their minds, nor is it in the nature of things, that they can be ingenuous in confeſſions of this ſort; yet I believe there are very few men without a degree of it. The aged, the proud, the timorous, and the tender, are perhaps the moſt ſuſceptible of this paſſion, where there are any circumſtances in the object beloved, to awaken it; but aſhamed as men uſually are in this inſtance, the queſtion is, if jealouſy is not a natural paſſion of the mind, as a compound of pride, love, hope, and fear; and if it may by a ſkilful direction anſwer ſeveral of the great ends of providence, as well as the other paſſions from whence I ſuppoſe jealouſy to be derived? What the fatal effects of the exceſs of every paſſion are, the hiſtory of the world can furniſh us with inſtances innumerable. Pride, love, fear, kill a thouſand different ways, entirely unobſerved by the generality of men, whilſt one deſperate act of jealouſy is entered upon record, and tranſmitted to future generations.

If we conſider jealouſy as a paſſion diſtinct from all others, and that it MAY be employed to good purpoſes; the poiſon of it will in a great meaſure evaporate; for every paſſion was certainly given us for wiſe ends. I believe there are not many men, and perhaps fewer women, who having endea-

endeavoured to paſs through life with innocence, are not without ſingular obligations to this paſſion; I mean, with regard to THEMSELVES, as that which has conſtantly waited on them like a guardian angel, to protect them in their fidelity to their own principles; for if jealouſy is a natural paſſion, its influence neceſſarily extends to OURSELVES, though in common life we do not often make OURSELVES the objects of it[z]. This principle being granted, how often might it have guarded the honour of families, and prevented that diſtreſs in which we have ſeen them involved. There is a vulgar notion prevails amongſt women, ſuch at leaſt who are not very wiſe, as well as thoſe who are not very virtuous, that ſuſpicion is a great provocation to infidelity: whereas jealouſy, though it implies a diffidence, may be only ſuch as is founded in a general knowledge of human nature; or a great infirmity of mind; and though it is often a proof of pride, it can hardly exiſt without love; but a woman might, with the ſame propriety, beat out her huſband's brains, becauſe his head achs, as be unfaithful to him, becauſe he is jealous; for it can by no means alter the nature of her obligations. On the other hand, it is a duty in men to remember, that this paſſion, if indulged, is an indignity to a woman, and does ſometimes bring on the very evil it is employed to prevent.

In countries where women are conſidered as equally entitled to the privileges of human nature, and are not only exempt from the ſervile ſubjections of the EAST, but enjoy the honour of being free, as well as the liberty of being virtuous, they can hardly be devoid of ſentiment: and it muſt neceſſarily follow, that in proportion as a woman loves a man, ſhe will avoid what is injurious to his peace: whilſt HE, conſcious of this ſickneſs of mind, will be equally watchful that it ſhall not offend her: and thus, by a ſkilful management, their very frailties may be converted into a bleſſing, and exhibit a thouſand latent virtues, which, for want of trial, might never have been called forth.

I have conſidered jealouſy in a different light from that in which it is generally ſhewn; but mankind are agreed, that all the ſweets of love

[z] This is uſing the term jealouſy for ſuſpicion and diffidence; but it muſt be remembered that this term is warrantable, as when a man is JEALOUS of his honour; which, though a figurative expreſſion, is very appoſite to this opinion.

are no counterpoiſe for the bitter pangs of this corroding paſſion: and that men are as highly intereſted not to inſtruct themſelves in the art of ſelf-torment, as not to teach their wives an evil leſſon. It may be alſo remarked, that jealouſy, abſtracted from all regards to women; as in acquaintance, friendſhip, and the intercourſe of the world at large, ſhews itſelf moſt in the weakeſt men; though all men of TENDER MINDS are extremely ſuſceptible of it. Pride is generally its companion, and fear its guide; ſorrow and vexation of ſpirit ſupport its banners, and it leads us into the paths of miſery. This is the caſe when we ſuffer it to get the aſcendency; but when ſubſervient to the ends of life, it is, I think, productive of the good I have painted out.

To return to my converſation with the MULLAH, from whence theſe reflexions took their riſe, he afforded me yet further occaſion for moralizing. He obſerved that I did not eat nor drink any thing that was offered me, and being himſelf a VALETUDINARIAN, he aſked the reaſon of my abſtinence: I told him, "It is a common ſaying in EUROPE, that a man "is a fool, or his own phyſician by the age of forty; I want many years "of that period; yet my conſtitution has given me great experience how "tottering theſe fabrics of our bodies are." Here it may be obſerved, that an impatience of certain foods, and other gratifications, is ſometimes as prevalent in men of infirm conſtitutions, as in others. Mr. POPE, by what he ſays of himſelf, has ſet this matter in a clear light; and happy are thoſe who can truly apply it to themſelves: "My youth" ſays this author, as well as I remember, "has dealt fairly and honeſtly by me; and, "by early intimations of mortality, checked my career, and prevented "many injurious, and perhaps criminal exceſſes into which my paſſions "might have betrayed me." The MULLAH expreſſed his approbation of the proverbial ſaying I have quoted, arraigned mankind, and condemned himſelf in particular, for want of that common attention to health, without which, he obſerved, it is next to impoſſible for ſome men to paſs through life exempt from pain; and beſides the miſery and perturbations of mind which it creates, it alſo diſqualifies us for the affairs of the world.

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We now changed our ſubject; and he ſaid with an ingenuous freedom: "How comes it that you, who are abſtemious in your food, are not of a-"piece in your apparel; there ought to be an uniformity in a man's con-"duct." I thanked him for his admonition, and replied: "In things I do "not find injurious in their conſequences, it ſeems to me a kind of duty "to conform to the cuſtom of thoſe with whom we aſſociate. You may "impute as much as you pleaſe to vanity; but I muſt confeſs to you my "philoſophy does admit of ſome indulgence of this kind: different occa-"ſions, and the different kinds of people with whom we aſſociate, muſt, "in ſome meaſure, determine in what manner a man ought to dreſs. Se-"veral eminent philoſophers in EUROPE have recommended the garb to "be rather above, than below a man's fortune, in which I preſume they "allude to certain ranks in life: a good coat will often procure a man "admittance, where a bad one will expoſe him to contempt. This is "no where more true than in your country, of which I have already had "a painful experience: and ſince the world in general is governed chiefly "by outward appearances; and that innocence of life, or even ſtrength "of reaſon alone, will not purchaſe much eſteem; we may, I think, ac-"commodate ourſelves to the world in things which are indifferent in "their nature, whatever may be urged by thoſe philoſophers and divines, "who are apt to conſider how things ought to be, rather than how they "are." The MULLAH ſhook his head, and acknowledged the application "of the argument with regard to PERSIA.

I had indeed been taught on ſeveral occaſions, how neceſſary externals were in that country, as well to prevent being treated inſolently, as to purchaſe that reſpect, which is of great uſe to the good conduct of buſineſs in that country. In trading nations, where the ſuppoſed pecuniary worth of men conſtitutes the greateſt part of the reſpect paid them, cloaths are leſs eſſential: but as theſe externals among others, are material diſtinctions of an affluent fortune; even in ſuch nations, ſome reſpect will be ever paid to a man's coat; particularly among the young, the gay, or the female world, which conſtitute a very great part of mankind; and that part which he is NO philoſopher who deſpiſes.

With regard to motives of policy and cuſtom, this notion had carried our factors in the ſouth of PERSIA much farther than us who came from the cold regions of RUSSIA: they had their gold CAALLEANS, rich SHASHES, running footmen, led horſes, &c. Their dreſs was PERSIAN, except the hat and wig, and their garments for parade were lined with SABLES. SHAH SULTAN HUSSEIN gave them a noble palace and fine gardens; and once, at a public entertainment made for this prince, the factors ſpread the ground with ſcarlet-cloth for him to walk on from the royal palace to their own, and afterwards gave the cloth to the ſoldiers. This conduct was in ſome inſtances political amongſt ſo oſtentatious a people as the PERSIANS, and no doubt had its good effects; and the trade, whilſt it was in a flouriſhing condition, might poſſibly ſupport a conſiderable expence: but the invaſion of the AFGHANS no longer permitted the continuance of it, and other prudential reaſons now reſtrain theſe factors in a very great meaſure. Mr. ELTON however thought it becoming the rank he bore in his maſter's ſervice, to have four running footmen to attend him; his adjutant was gallantly mounted, and carried a light fowling-piece at the head of the cavalcade: the rear was brought up by the CAALLEAN bearer on horſeback, who carried a YAKTAN [h] with proviſions, outward garments, and the like: but I cannot ſay, this ſhadow of a precarious pomp was any addition to my pleaſure, becauſe I knew his appointments of 2500 crowns [i] a year were not equal to it.

The converſation of the MULLAH gave occaſion to many other reflexions; but thoſe already mentioned exceed the bounds I have preſcribed to myſelf in this work.

[h] Leather pannier. [i] This was the ſalary allowed by NADIR SHAH, to which he added an occaſional preſent or two of 500 crowns, and VERY LARGE promiſes, which probably would not have produced any thing.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLI.

The author detained in expectation of the arrival of captain WOODROOFE. *Deſcription of the province of* GHILAN.

THE month of April being now almoſt expired, I grew ſtill more impatient to ſee captain WOODROOFE, intending to go to ASTRABAD by ſea. Mr. ELTON endeavoured to render my hours as pleaſant as ſo wretched a place as LANGAROOD could make them, and obliged me often with the uſe of the fine horſe which the SHAH had given him.

I now ſent a ſecond courier to NASEER AGA, to inform him in what ſituation I was, and that I determined to go by land, if the ſhip did not arrive in two or three days. Providence ſeemed to order things apparently for the beſt: the heavy oppreſſions which had induced the people of ASTRABAD to rebel, and the dreadful conſequences of that rebellion, could not but draw commiſeration. But my ſentiments of their ſufferings afforded me no aſſurance of their regard to juſtice, much leſs of their forbearance to injure me in the proſecution of my buſineſs, if they had an opportunity of doing it. During my ſtay in GHILAN many of the rebels were removed by death, whom my preſence could not have ſaved, and their adherents being the more humbled, were probably the leſs diſpoſed to acts of violence. The ſeveral journies which I made in GHILAN afforded me an opportunity of making ſome remarks on that province: and my leiſure allowed me time to commit them to writing.

GHILAN is covered on one ſide by a mountain, nearly in form of a creſcent; and what adds much to its beauty is the abundance of timber, and other wood, and the ſeveral romantic ſcenes which the various face of the earth affords. At the foot of the mountain to the eaſtward, near the bay is a hot bath, the water of which is of a yellowiſh colour, and much eſteemed for its medicinal qualities. The ſeveral paſſes into GHILAN are all very difficult; the narrow paſs which leads to it from the eaſt through ASTRABAD and MAZANDERAN, and from the weſt by LENGER-KUNAN, are not much inferior to that of PILE-RUBAR already mentioned.

tioned. From hence it aroſe, that the kings of PERSIA have ever found it very difficult to keep the inhabitants of the ſouthern coaſt of the CASPIAN in ſubjection, and ſtill more, to reduce them when they have once rebelled: NADIR ſeemed to make it a maxim, never to keep any troops on this coaſt.

RESHD, the chief city in GHILAN, about 20 years ago was ſurrounded by a thick wood, which rendered it extremely unwholſome; inſomuch that the ARMENIANS, who came from TURKEY to buy ſilk, uſually ſtopped a day's journey ſhort of this place, and ſent their ſervants into the city. But the RUSSIANS no ſooner poſſeſſed this beſt part of the province, than they cleared the ground for near fifteen miles to the ſouthward, and a proſpect is now opened which is bounded only by the mountains: theſe are very lofty, their tops being generally covered with ſnow through the whole year. The air of GHILAN, though admirably adapted to the cultivation of raw ſilk and rice, of which no province has ſuch plenty, is far from being healthful; the ſudden changes of it are productive of agues, eſpecially to thoſe who are careleſs in their cloathing. The numerous marſhes occaſioned by the inundation of the CASPIAN, the rice-fields often laid under water, and the vicinity of the mountains which are covered with wood, all contribute to hurt the air, eſpecially when the heat of the ſun is violent, and conſequently the exhalations ſtrong. There are frogs and gnats innumerable, nor are ſpiders leſs abundant; the extreme moiſture of the earth breeds inſects even in their houſes, whilſt the air is ſo productive of ruſt, that even the work of a watch can with difficulty be preſerved. The inhabitants of the province obſerve, that women, mules, and poultry enjoy health, when all other animals pine away with ſickneſs; from whence it may be concluded, that the confinement of the women contributes to their preſervation. June, July, and Auguſt are their moſt unhealthy months: in October, November, and December they have generally heavy rains. In the year 1741 an incredible quantity of ſnow fell, inſomuch that the people of RESHD had no communication with each other for ſome days, but from their houſe-tops, which however are not very lofty: they even aſſured me that the ſnow was, in ſome places, to the depth of ſeven yards.

They

They enjoy here a long ſpring: their lawns and meadows are ſtrewed with flowers, and the buſhes with honey-ſuckles, ſweet briars, and roſes. The ſoil is exceeding fertile, producing ſome hemp and hops, and almoſt every kind of fruit without culture; for beſides oranges, lemons, peaches, and pomegranates, here are abundance of grapes, the vines ſupporting themſelves on the trees, and growing wild in the mountains with great luxuriancy; ſo that a conſiderable part of this province is quite a paradiſe, notwithſtanding the many great inconveniences which attend it. Their grapes, for want of cultivation, are not of the moſt excellent kind; nor will they make tolerable wine, without a mixture of raiſins from the ſouthern parts of the empire; but theſe fermented together produce very good wine. Their other fruits are not reckoned wholeſome, eſpecially to foreigners; the peaches and figs, in particular, partake much of the pernicious moiſture which predominates in the lower parts of the province. GHILAN is alſo remarkable for producing great quantities of box-wood, for which camels have an extreme fondneſs, though it is their immediate death if they eat of it; for this reaſon there are few or no camels brought into this province, their caravans conſiſting of horſes, mules, and cows*.

There are ſeveral rivers and inlets on the coaſt of GHILAN that abound in fiſh: the moſt remarkable in the river of LANGAROOD, are pike, carp, a ſpecies of cod, and an oily fiſh called COTTOOME, much eſteemed by the PERSIANS; the head of it reſembles that of a mullet, but the colour, fins, and ſcales are like thoſe of a carp. There is another fiſh found in moſt of the rivers and inlets on the PERSIAN coaſt, and alſo in the VOLGA, but never ſeen at ſea: it is called SOOME, the head is very large, and has the neareſt reſemblance to that of a dog fiſh, but the colour and ſhape of the body is like a cod; it has no ſcales, but from the navel to the tail there runs a ſoft fin on the belly, as well as the back: this fiſh, as I have been told, is very ravenous, and devours like a ſhark, though it has no teeth; the fleſh of it when boiled is extremely ſoft, and is never eaten by the PERSIANS.

* Theſe carry burthens like other animals.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLII.

Ignorance of the PERSIANS *in regard to maritime affairs. The author ſets out on his ſecond journey from* LANGAROOD *to* ASTRABAD. *Deſcription of the province of* MAZANDERAN, *with the cities of* AMUL, BALFRUSH, *&c. he is kindly received by the governor of the province. The modern* PERSIANS *debauched by ſpirituous liquors.*

IN the cloſe of this month of April Mr. ELTON ſet up the ſtem and ſtern of the ſhip he was building; upon which occaſion we drank the SHAH's health, and fired the cannon we had on ſhore. The PERSIANS have very little maritime ſtrength: in the gulph of PERSIA they once had between 20 and 30 ſhips, partly built in EUROPE, and ſome in PEGU and SURAT; but they were navigated by INDIANS and PORTUGUESE. Their ſhip-carpenters on the CASPIAN were moſtly INDIANS, who perform their buſineſs with delicacy, but are very ſlow, and unfit for large work; neither do they underſtand much of the ſtructure of veſſels, or of the method of navigating them. But there cannot be a ſtronger inſtance of the ignorance of the PERSIANS in regard to maritime affairs, than that of MYRZA MEHTIE, who was appointed admiral of the coaſt before

fore he had ever ſeen a ſhip: this was the man who was afterwards nominated by NADIR, to examine into the CHRISTIAN religion. Being now as tired of idleneſs, as impatient to bring my buſineſs to an iſſue, I determined to wait no longer, and accordingly the firſt of May in the evening we ſet out for ASTRABAD.

Beſides Mr. LOFTUS, who had been with me in the camp, and on whom I depended as an interpreter, I took alſo MATTEUSE, the old ARMENIAN, who was with me when the rebellion broke out. We were ſix perſons well armed, and MAHOMMED KHAN had promiſed to furniſh us with a convoy of fifty ſoldiers, if neceſſary; for ſome of the inhabitants of MAZANDERAN, as well as ASTRABAD, had been in the rebellion; and knowing upon what buſineſs we were going, and that part of the money muſt be levied on them or their relations, it was not unreaſonable to apprehend, that they would make no ſcruple to obſtruct our journey, if they had a favourable opportunity.

The firſt evening we were benighted and loſt in a wood: we had ſucceſſively procured ſeveral guides; but they all ran from us, apprehending we ſhould treat them injuriouſly. In this perplexity we made towards a houſe, where we ſaw a light, but found the entrance barricadoed with trees: we uſed ſome entreaties to perſuade the maſter of it to conduct us to RUDIZAR; but as we could not make any impreſſion on him, we broke into his houſe, and tying a rope to one of his arms, compelled him to conduct us. However unwarrantable this conduct may appear, it was quite agreeable to the practice of PERSIA in ſuch caſes, and now ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary, eſpecially as we meant no harm; on the contrary, after the man had conducted us to RUDIZAR, he was handſomely paid for his trouble.

The 2d, We ſaw a ſhip in the offing*, upon which we ſtopt at a little village in the mountains, and ſent an expreſs to LANGAROOD; but receiving anſwer the next day, that this ſhip was not captain WOODROOFE's, we proceeded on our journey without any more flattering expectations.

* Sea term for a ſhip which appears on a coaſt.

Travelling about ſix leagues, we ſoon entered the province of MAZANDERAN, the weather being extremely delightful. Two of the carriers of my baggage through fear, or ſome worſe cauſe, left us and their loads in a very abrupt manner. The 4th, my horſes and mules being at paſture, were viſited by a wolf of a very extraordinary ſize, of which there are numbers in theſe mountains; being driven off by the guard which was ſet for ſuch purpoſes, this animal contented himſelf with killing a cow. In the morning we ſet out early, and came up with a detachment of fifty ſoldiers, the commander of which very courteouſly offered his ſervice to convoy us.

I obſerved that ſome of the lower parts of MAZANDERAN very much reſemble GHILAN; but they are not ſo cloſely encircled by mountains, and the air is more free and pure. This province alſo abounds in water, of which many ſtreams iſſue from the ſprings in the mountains; but the rice-fields require a plentiful diſtribution of it. They tell a ſtory of an inhabitant of the low-lands, who being aſked the length of the province, anſwered, "TOOL up to the waiſt," the word TOOL in PERSIC ſignifies length; but, in the dialect of the province, mud. In the time of ALEXANDER the GREAT theſe people were called MARDI, and the antient name of the province of MAZANDERAN was MARGIANA. This country is as fruitful as GHILAN, and much more healthful; in fact the inhabitants are ſtronger, and more robuſt. It produces great quantities of cotton, which are ſent in large boats to the market at RESHD, from whence part of it is carried into RUSSIA; and this is the only province in the north of PERSIA that produces ſugar.

This day we arrived at KIRCULLI, a little village near the ſea-ſhore, where we met with a courier from MAHOMMED KHAN, with an open letter, requiring the commander of the fifty men to march along the coaſt, and ſeize all the boats for the SHAH's ſervice. This order was conducted with ſo little ſecrecy, that beſides the letter being open, it was delivered by miſtake to my interpreter. The peaſants and boatmen, having had previous notice, concealed in the creeks the few boats that were on the coaſt. The uſual method, in ſuch caſes, is to oblige the elders to make report in writing of what boats belong to the village; and if they are diſcovered

to

to conceal any, they are ſeverely fined. I preſented the commander of the fifty men with cloth for a coat, and obtained a detachment of ten of his ſoldiers for our convoy.

The earth having been refreſhed with heavy ſhowers of rain, we made two ſtages, and travelled eleven hours. As we advanced deeper into the province, the villagers grew more inſolent, inſomuch that one of them ſeized the commander of my ten men by his throat. It is very dangerous to come to extremities with theſe peaſants, whoſe numbers and reſolution enable them to contend: for if they beat or diſtreſs any one, they are often called to an account in ſuch a manner, that, of the two evils, they think murder the leaſt, in hopes it may prevent enquiry; or at worſt they can hide themſelves in their mountains. The houſe aſſigned for my lodging, was inhabited by women and children, to whoſe intreaties it was my duty to ſubmit, though contrary to cuſtom in ſuch caſes; I therefore pitched my tent. Night drawing on, we diſcovered ourſelves to be in a very bad neighbourhood; the villagers here had appeared in arms in the late rebellion, and formed a deſign of attacking MAHOMMED KHAN, as he retired before the TURKUMANS; their ſituation being ſuch, that ten men might have defeated the KHAN, and his whole party. Theſe people now imagining us to be extremely rich, would not be perſuaded that our braſs buttons were not gold: their chief boaſted of his great dexterity in the uſe of fire-arms, as a ſpecimen of which he killed a ſmall bird on a lofty tree with a ſingle ball. The villagers being now alarmed with apprehenſions, that my convoy had orders to apprehend them, took to their arms, and retired, refuſing to ſupply the ſoldiers with any proviſions; however I procured food for them, upon condition that they, together with ſome of my own people, ſhould remain under arms during the night. The inhabitants in the neighbouring mountains were alſo no leſs diſaffected; and ſeveral horſemen came into the village during the night, but finding us on our guard, they feigned excuſes for their unſeaſonable motions, and retired.

The 6th, The dangerous ſituation in which I had ſlept, produced an equal ſatisfaction on my departure. By ſeven in the morning the ſun was extremely hot; I obſerved that the PERSIANS are not cautious of the im-

preſſions of the ſun in any degree equal to the PORTUGUEZE; for the laſt ſeldom travel without a cloak and umbrello, they alſo uſe ſcull-caps of paper, or a cabbage-leaf under their hats; here the common people only guard the crown of the head, which is often bare in other parts, with a ſilk-quilted ſcull-cap. The intenſe action of the ſun, even in more moderate climates, I conceive to be injurious beyond the common attention of phyſicians, eſpecially to feveriſh conſtitutions; and that the evils ariſing from it are oftentimes not traced to their real cauſe. About nine, we took ſhelter in a wood, and pitched our tents, determining to travel only in the evenings, or at night. The 7th, we travelled five leagues: on the road we met ſeveral peaſants returning home with rice, which the SHAH had cauſed to be diſtributed among them; and we underſtood likewiſe they were excuſed from taxes, which they COULD NOT pay. Early the next morning we ſtruck our tents; the ſoldiers, contrary to their engagement, having left us in the night to take care of ourſelves.

As we approached towards AMUL, the country appeared ſtill more pleaſant: this city is ſituated in a plain at the foot of that part of mount TAURUS, where the PERSIANS ſay ALEXANDER encamped, and refreſhed his army: it is watered by a river, over which there is a ſumptuous bridge of 12 arches. They have a tradition, that if any governor or commander paſs over it on horſeback, he will ſoon be deprived of his office, if not of his life; and that whoever would not be purſued by ill fortune, ought to walk over it: this however is certain, that although the ſtream is rapid, and the water foul, the PERSIANS generally ford it: and as I did not chuſe to be regarded as a perſon excluded from the common bounties of heaven, I thought proper to comply ſo far as to lead my horſe, and walk over the bridge. Here we found the ruins of an old fortreſs, which had been very ſtrong and regular, beyond any I ſaw in PERSIA: the walls were of brick, and of great thickneſs; they ſay it has been repaired every two hundred years ſince the time of the original foundation, ſaid to be 4000 years ago; but this unluckily happens to be before the deluge, according to our accounts. It is certain however that this is one of the cities of the antient PERSIANS, and much eſteemed for its ſituation by the

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ſovereigns of this country. Here is a palace built with ſtone, which the famous SHAH ABAS often made his reſidence: it has two ſtories which command a pleaſant proſpect, and is well contrived for coolneſs and conveniency. The garden is remarkable for the ſize and height of its cypruſ-trees.

In this city I met a writer in the ſervice of MAHOMMED KHAN, who received me with great civility, and expreſſed much concern that he was ignorant of my circumſtances, when I was in his company retiring before the TURKUMANS. He informed us, that SADOC AGA, and his TARTARS, when they came into this place, were not above 150 in number; but as his maſter the KHAN had only 60 fighting men with him, they would certainly have attacked us, if the townſmen of AMUL had not magnified our ſtrength, pretending that we had received a reinforcement from SHIRVAN. "We were afraid," ſaid he, "not only of the TARTARS, but of the in-"habitants of the province, who were ripe for a revolt. SADOC AGA de-"manded money and proviſion of this city, and, to give a greater impreſ-"ſion of the force of the rebel-army, he required alſo no leſs than fifty-"thouſand pair of horſe-ſhoes. As ſoon as the townſmen thought that "MAHOMMED KHAN was marched out of danger, they aſſured SADOC "AGA they ſhould make no difficulty in ſerving him, provided he took "MAHOMMED KHAN priſoner. The rebels accordingly purſued the KHAN; "but after a few days, news arriving from KHORASAN of the defeat of "MAHOMMED HASSAN, and the main body of the rebel army; theſe "people prepared to give SADOC AGA a warm reception, in caſe he "ſhould return this way. Several of his party took to the mountains, "but ſixty of them came here, of which half were TURKUMANS: many "of theſe fought very gallantly, twelve were killed on the ſpot, and 18 "taken priſoners, and put to death. The thirty KHAJARS ſurrendered "themſelves, and having been deprived of their ſight by order of the "SHAH, are now in this city."

The ſecretary, having given me this information concerning the fate of thoſe raſh men, invited me to hear his muſic, of which one inſtrument reſembled a flute, another a kettle-drum, a third a gittar; an old man

man and two boys at the ſame time ſung and danced. It muſt be noted, that neither of theſe accompliſhments are taught, except to perſons who hire themſelves for this purpoſe; in others they are conſidered as mean and ignoble. Here I obſerved the ſame kind of movements as in PORTUGAL; and it is probable that the PORTUGUEZE brought theſe dances from this country, as before the conqueſt of ORMUS they had an intimate connexion with the PERSIANS. The boys moved their heads, legs, and arms at the ſame time in a very extravagant manner; the writer however acknowledged the entertainment was not the moſt perfect of it's kind: he then ſent for a prieſt, remarkable as a good ſinger; this man raiſed his voice to a degree of amazement, his quavers were mixed with a very harſh guttural, and the diſtortions of his viſage ſuch, as rather created horror than delight; nor was their inſtrumental muſic leſs ungrateful to my ear.

The people of AMUL, as in many other parts of this coaſt, begin in May to retire into the neighbouring mountains, where they live in tents, and enjoy cool breezes, delightful ſhades, plenty of fruits, the moſt delicious water, with an extenſive proſpect of a fine country below them. Near this place are mines well furniſhed with iron oar, where the SHAH had his chief foundery for his cannon, ball, and bomb-ſhells, as alſo forges for horſe-ſhoes: and ſuppoſing the PERSIAN marine would ſucceed, they intended alſo to make anchors. They have plenty of rice and wheat, and alſo printed cottons, in which articles they trade with the neighbouring provinces.

The 9th, in the evening we left AMUL, and travelled through a delightful country till two in the morning, when, after reſting ourſelves in tents, we departed for BALFRUSH, the capital of the province. My firſt enquiry was concerning the conduct of the rebels when I left the place in february laſt, and I received the following account. The townſmen, apprehenſive of the cruelty of the TURKUMANS, or little concerned about their loyalty to NADIR SHAH, ſubmitted very quietly to SADOC AGA. When he went in purſuit of MAHOMMED KHAN, he appointed ISMAEL BEG, a perſon of ſome diſtinction, as their governor, but without leaving

ing him any forces. Upon the news of the defeat of the rebels, their governor was ſeized, and holes being cut in his fleſh, they ſet lighted candles into them; in this barbarous manner they led him about the market-place naked, till with loſs of blood he expired.

If we conſider a people univerſally alienated from their ſovereign, and yet exerciſing ſuch horrid cruelties for what they eſteemed no crime; it can be reconciled only by habit, and a cuſtom of inſenſibility, joined to the terrors of this tyrant's power, which thus conjured up ſo many millions of diabolical ſpirits to torment and deſtroy each other.

The 11th, I viſited MAHOMMED KHAN, whoſe houſe was a few miles from the city, in a delightful ſituation. There was nothing grand about it; but the adjacent woods and rivulets gave it an air of ſimplicity, and afforded more pleaſure than the moſt ſumptuous palace, where we ſee only finiſhed ſtrokes of art. In the area before his houſe were drawn up under arms 150 men, in two double lines. I alighted, according to cuſtom, ſome yards diſtance from the houſe, and bowing with my hand on my breaſt, advanced towards him: the KHAN was ſeated in his AIVAN, and received me with great expreſſions of kindneſs: as a more convincing proof of his regard, he releaſed a man who was tied, and condemned to be beaten; telling me, that he did it for my ſake, and to do me honour. I made him a preſent of ſome fine cloth and a caſe of choice drams, of which this irreligious MAHOMMEDAN was immoderately fond. He told me I muſt be his gueſt, with many aſſurances that a proper and ſufficient guard ſhould be provided to attend us to ASTRABAD; which province he ſaid was entirely ruined by the rebellion, and the fatal conſequences of it; deſiring for my own ſake, that I would make as ſhort a ſtay in that city as poſſible. He obſerved further that BEHBUD KHAN the king's general, was a very worthy man, but loved preſents; and that this general, as well as the others at ASTRABAD, were ordered by the king on an expedition to BALKHAN.

As I had conſented to take up my lodgings with him that night, he ordered poultry and ſheep to be killed, meaning to ſhew me ſo much favour,

vour, as to wipe off the ſtains his reputation had ſuffered by his ill treatment of me before; for he now pretended, that he was then entirely ignorant of my condition, or he had certainly provided me with a ſufficient number of horſes, and all things neceſſary for my journey. At dinner we had very little converſation; for it is not the cuſtom of the PERSIANS, on that occaſion, to talk much; nor did the ignorance of the KHAN admit of his making many pertinent enquiries. As he was deſirous to do me pleaſure, he ſent for his dancers and muſic, with which I was tormented the whole evening, my nerves being too weak to bear ſo much noiſe as was made by eight inſtruments and three ſingers: and here it may be worth obſerving, that though an EUROPEAN ear cannot be reconciled to their taſte in muſic, yet ours is agreeable to them. When they had performed their buſineſs, the dancing-men preſented me an orange, which was a civil way of demanding payment for their trouble. After dinner the KHAN invited me to drink brandy with him; upon my refuſal he expreſſed great ſurprize, that I being an EUROPEAN and a CHRISTIAN, did not delight in ſpirituous liquors. As ſoon as I retired, he and his companions could not reſiſt making trial of the ſtrong waters I had preſented him: their uſual way is for each perſon to ſet a plate of ſweet-meats before him, and drink their liquor in tea-cups till they are drunk, which is generally effected in a very ſhort time.

The next morning we viſited the monument of the KHAN's favourite wife, who had been lately buried in a wood near his houſe. There was an epitaph, not differing much from the EUROPEAN manner: the author, according to the common ſenſe of mankind, compared life to a flower that bloſſoms in the ſpring, and in the ſummer appears in the full luſtre of its beauty; but in autumn begins to whither and decline, and when winter comes on, every guſt of wind blows it to the ground, where it lays and rots.

Before I took my leave of the KHAN, I deſired he would tell me definitively what number of men he would give me for a guard; he replied, as many as I pleaſed: but I ſoon found, that five men muſt be the number as far as KOLESAWD, from whence only, he ſaid, there was any danger; and that there I might obtain any number of ſoldiers.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIII.

The author's journey through MAZANDERAN. *A ſhort deſcription of* SHAH ABAS's *cauſeway and of the antient temple of the worſhippers of fire; as alſo of the famous palace of* ASHREFF. *Pyramids of human heads at the entrance of* ASTRABAD.

ON the 13th of May, I diſpatched a courier to Mr. ELTON, to inform him of what had paſſed in relation to the king's buſineſs, and the intended expedition to BALKHAN, for which captain WOODROOFE was required to be the leading ſhip: by the ſame courier I informed him concerning the buffaloes, which he required to be ſent from ASTRABAD to draw timber: I was informed that theſe animals are yet ſtronger than oxen; but if provoked, are dangerous and intractable: they are very hot in their conſtitution, and delight much in water and marſhy grounds.

Leaving BALFRUSH, we travelled three leagues through a delightful country to ALLEABAD, where is a palace of mean appearance, but pleaſantly ſituated. The moſt important and uſeful monument of antiquity in this country is the cauſe-way built by SHAH ABAS the GREAT, about the beginning of the laſt century, which runs from KESKAR, in the ſouth-weſt corner of the CASPIAN, by ASTRABAD in the ſouth-eaſt corner, and ſeveral leagues yet further, being in all near 300 ENGLISH miles. During this period it has hardly been ever repaired; it muſt be obſerved however, that few or no wheel-carriages are in uſe in this country, ſo that the pavement is yet preſerved in many places very perfect: in ſome parts it is above 20 yards broad, being raiſed in the middle with ditches on each ſide; there are many bridges upon it, under which water is conveyed to the rice-fields; but theſe are made level, and do not interrupt the proſpect. From ALLEABAD to SARI there are ſome perſpectives from ſouth-weſt to north-eaſt for above a league together, bordered on each ſide by a thick wood, whoſe luxuriant branches afford a delightful ſhelter to travellers. There are alſo many avenues into meadows and rice-fields, which variegate the proſpect, and delight the imagination.

The inhabitants at SARI were in a very miſerable condition, complaining loudly of the king, and no leſs of SADOC AGA, and his TURKUMAN TARTARS, who had been with them for ſome days, on the occaſion of their incurſion into MAZANDERAN. Here we learnt, that four thouſand men from the king's camp were arrived at HAZAR-JEREB, and that a body of forces, levied in this province, were ordered to take poſſeſſion of all the avenues, to prevent the inhabitants from running away: thus the condition of the people being rendered more deſperate, thoſe who had appeared in arms againſt the king, were become the more dangerous to travellers.

SARI was built by the antient PERSIANS; there are yet four temples of the GEBRES, or worſhippers of fire, who formerly inhabited all this coaſt: it ſeemed inconſiſtent, that the PERSIANS ſuffered theſe temples to remain unmoleſted, after the abolition of a religion, which they now eſteem groſsly idolatrous: but they are made of the moſt durable materials. Theſe edifices are rotund as of about thirty feet diameter, raiſed in height to a point near 120 feet. Of the religion of theſe people, I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more, when I come to ſpeak of the everlaſting fire at BAKU.

The 14th, We continued our rout through a moſt delightful country to ASHREFF: here the cauſe-way was much decayed. SHAH ABAS delighted greatly in the ſouthern coaſt of the CASPIAN, and particularly in MAZANDERAN: he built a lodge every two leagues for his refreſhment in travelling; many of theſe buildings were yet habitable. The cuſtom of the PERSIANS forbids any ſubject to ſit in the palaces of their kings, whether they are abſent, or not; but this ceremony by no means ſuited us who were fatigued. From one of theſe buildings we had a fair view of the great mountain DEMOAN, on which the PERSIANS ſay the ark reſted, whilſt the ARMENIANS aſcribe this honour to mount ARARAT, which is alſo viſible in clear weather on the weſtern coaſt of the CASPIAN, if what was ſhewn me as ſuch, is the real ARARAT, becauſe the diſtance ſeems to be rather too great.

In the afternoon we arrived at ASHREFF, where with difficulty we obtained lodgings; my ARMENIAN ſervants attempted to beat the peaſants, and

and compel them to procure quarters, though they had no better authority for it, than what was derived from their being armed. The PERSIANS have been now ſo long accuſtomed to this kind of ſeverity, that I hardly obſerved a ſingle inſtance of that private reſentment and revenge, ſo common amongſt chriſtians, particularly in the ſouth of EUROPE.

In this place is a celebrated palace built by SHAH ABAS, far exceeding any on the whole coaſt of the CASPIAN ſea. Over the gate which forms the entrance, are the arms of PERSIA, being a lion with the ſun riſing behind it*, alluding to the ſtrength and glory of the PERSIAN monarchy. Within this gate is a long avenue, on each ſide of which are thirty apartments intended for a royal guard: the next gate in front opens into a garden, in the middle of which is a channel made with ſtone, about three feet wide, and one deep: In this channel runs a ſtream of water, which has four falls of about an ell high, thirty yards diſtance from each other, each having a ſmall baſon and fountain: theſe falls muſt have a fine effect; for on the ſide near the ſtream, holes are cut to fix candles at equal diſtances, to the number of about a thouſand: at the head of theſe is a large ſtone-baſon about ſix feet deep. In the building there is near this baſon a ſumptuous AIVAN painted with gold flowers on a blue ground very well executed: here are alſo ſeveral portraits, which ſeem to have been done by a HOLLANDER, but no maſterly hand. On the ſides of the AIVAN are ſeveral ſmall apartments, and behind this building are three other falls of water, which pour down from the ſide of a ſteep mountain covered with wood.

The garden conſiſts chiefly in walks, bordered by very large pines, orange, and other fruit-trees diſperſed in beds, with ſtreams of water running between them. From thence we were carried into another garden much in the ſame taſte, in which ſtood the HARRAM: there was no body in it; yet being the women's apartment, it was conſidered as ſacred, and we were not permitted to go into it. Before it is a large baſon of water, and a ſquare with marble benches at each corner; a ſycamour of prodigious ſize in the center, ſhaded the whole with it's extended branches:

* See frontiſpiece of this volume.

here were alſo caſcades in the ſame manner as related in the other garden. From thence we were conducted to a banqueting-houſe, which was dedicated to a grandſon of ALI; out of reſpect to this place we were required to leave our ſwords at the door. The ſolemnity with which we were conducted, ſtruck me with a kind of religious awe; but this was ſoon changed into contempt; for I was ſurprized to find the room adorned with paintings, ſuch as could pleaſe only a voluptuous MAHOMMEDAN. Here were alſo portraits of SHAH ABAS the firſt and ſecond, and of ſome other perſons, all by an EUROPEAN hand, but meanly performed. It had no furniture but rich carpets, which were then piled into great heaps.

We were now ſhewn a fourth houſe and garden, in which was the ſpring that gave water to the greateſt part of the whole: in this was a ſtately dome, whoſe top was indifferently well painted, and the walls were covered with DUTCH tiles as high as the gallery. At ſome diſtance from this on an eminence is a ſmall building, which ſeemed to be intended for an obſervatory. The whole commands a view of a very fine country, the CASPIAN ſea being about five miles diſtance: the vicinity of the mountains on the back of this palace, the numerous caſcades, and the muſic of the birds, gave me many pleaſing ideas: but the unhappy ſituation of the people ſtill returned to my thoughts, and blunted the edge of that pleaſure which I might have otherwiſe enjoyed.

The 15th, we left ASHREFF, and travelled four leagues to KOLESAWD; through this village runs a ſtream of water, which parts the provinces of MAZANDERAN and ASTRABAD. Upon the road we met a courier with a letter from HAHDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED, to acquaint me that his eſtate had been ſeized upon, his ſons obliged to fly, himſelf impriſoned, and in great danger of being put to death: he therefore beſought I would haſten my journey, and uſe my intereſt to ſave his life. MAHOMMED KHAN had aſſured me, that in this village I might procure a guard to ASTRABAD of any number of men; but according to the ordinary uncertainty of ſuch aſſurances in PERSIA, no guard at all could be found; for the peaſants, not liking their ſituation, had deſerted the village: what added

added to this diſappointment was, that beſides the robbers which were in the adjacent mountains, the OOURTJOY pirates had made a deſcent at this place a few days before, and murdered ſeveral people after plundering their houſes. We were fourteen in number well armed, and determined to defend ourſelves: the houſe in which we took up our lodging had been plundered by the TURKUMANS and KHAJARS during the late rebellion, but upon the reverſe of their fortune, the owner had received his own goods again, with the charge of other effects.

Having ſpent the night with a watchful uneaſineſs, the next day we went forward for ASTRABAD, paſſing by ſeveral detachments of armed villagers, who had thrown up an intrenchment fortified with paliſadoes; they were ordered to examine paſſengers, and keep the road free. As we approached to ASTRABAD, we met ſeveral armed horſemen carrying home the peaſants whoſe eyes had been put out, the blood yet running down their faces. Near the entrance of the city on each ſide was a pyramid built of ſtone whitened over, and made full of niches; theſe pyramids were about ſixteen or twenty feet diameter at the baſis, riſing gradually into a point to near forty feet; at the top of each was a ſingle head. This being towards the cloſe of the execution, the greateſt part of the niches were filled with human heads, of which ſeveral had beards, and being ſet a little projecting, added to the horror of this object. I had been fourteen days on my journey from LANGAROOD, and found the neareſt computation of the diſtance to be about 250 ENGLISH miles.

CHAP. XLIV.

The author arrives at ASTRABAD. *His reception by the* SHAH'S *general. Cruelties exerciſed on the rebels. The author viſits* MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN. *His character. Secret cauſes of the rebellion in* ASTRABAD: *An account of the battle fought by the rebels with the* SHAH'S *forces.*

THE 16th of May we entered the city of ASTRABAD the ſecond time; a ſcene of miſery and deſolation, which amply verified the prediction of the woman *. Upon my arrival I was informed, that the executions of that day conſiſted in cutting out the left eyes of thirty men, beheading four, and burning one alive, the laſt having been a captain in the rebel-guard. Two hundred women were alſo ſent out of the city, of which one hundred and fifty were ordered to be ſold as ſlaves to the ſoldiers.

The next day I paſſed through ſeveral ſtreets, which appeared to have no inhabitants except ſoldiers, and a few old women. I ſent a preſent to BEHBUD KHAN the king's general, and immediately followed it myſelf. He was ſeated in his AIVAN, with a ſemicircle of his ſoldiers drawn up a

* See page 205.

little

little below him, judging and condemning the unhappy rebels, who were brought before him one or two at a time, as he demanded them. After the compliments of welcome, he aſked me why I did not ſtay in ASTRABAD till he came? As I knew nothing of him when I left the place, I thought the queſtion a little extraordinary. I told him I did not remain in ASTRABAD becauſe I was afraid of violence to my perſon, or of being made a ſlave to the TURKUMAN TARTARS; moreover that it was my buſineſs to ſeek juſtice of the SHAH, whoſe decree I had now the honour to preſent him; and then ſtanding up, and taking it in both my hands, I lifted it up to my head, and delivered it to him: he ſtood up and received it, and raiſing it to his forehead, gave it to his ſecretary to read. I have already obſerved, that the king ordered the money to be paid, according to the account I ſhould deliver, out of the ſequeſtered eſtates of the rebels; deducting the value of what goods could be found, which were ordered to be delivered to me. The general ſaid, "the decree "muſt be obeyed." I replied, "You may ſee how great favour the king has "ſhewn us, not only in ordering payment, but that it ſhall be done ſoon, "and therefore I hope you will pay honour to the decree by ſeeing it exe- "cuted immediately." He aſſured me it ſhould be done without delay, and ſpoke as follows: "You find how the rebels have changed their blood "for your crimſon cloth. If it pleaſes the almighty to give the king "health, no attempt of this ſort will prevail againſt him." He then preſented me ſweet-meats and large white mulberries, which are a delicious fruit: the priſoners were taken from his preſence whilſt we eat: In the interim the ſecretary made a complimental ſpeech on the general uſefulneſs of merchants, obſerving "that they brought wealth into coun- "tries, were ſerviceable to kings; and ought not to be offended by any, "but protected by all parties."

BEHBUD KHAN had the title of "high and mighty miniſter of miniſters, "and general of ATTOK, with the frontiers of TURKUMANIA." He was a ſtout black man, with an open countenance, hard featured, looking fierce and undiſturbed, as to any ſentiment of compaſſion. After a ſhort repaſt, a priſoner was brought before him, who had too large logs of wood fitted

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to the ſmall of his leg, and riveted together: there was alſo a heavy triangular collar of wood about his neck; one of the parts being made longer than the other two, ſerved as a hand-cuff to his left wriſt, ſo that if he attempted to reſt his arm, it muſt preſs on his neck. The general aſked me, if that man had taken my goods; I told him, I did not remember to have ever ſeen him before. He was then queſtioned for ſome time, and at length ordered to be beaten with ſticks, which was performed by two ſoldiers with ſuch ſeverity, as if they meant to kill him. The ſoldiers were then ordered to ſpit in his face, an indignity of great antiquity in the eaſt; this, and the cutting off beards, which I ſhall have occaſion to mention, brought to my mind the ſufferings recorded in the prophetical hiſtory of our Saviour [b]. The cloſe of this hideous ſcene was an order to cut out the eyes of this unhappy man: the ſoldiers were dragging him to execution, whilſt he begged with bitter cries, that he might rather ſuffer death: the general, whoſe heart ſeemed to be made of the ſame kind of ſtuff as his ſword, did not grant this cruel mercy; but the man, being recalled for further enquiry, the execution was ſuſpended for that day.

SADOC AGA was then brought before the general. The reader will remember, that this young man was diſtinguiſhed among the rebels by the rank of a general, and had the command of that detachment which was ſent into MAZANDERAN. He had alſo a principal ſhare in taking my caravan of cloth, and inſulting me by his jeſts. EMIR KHAN his father was in ſuch great favour with the king, that the ſon might have been pardoned for his ſake; but EMIR KHAN, fearing his interpoſition might involve himſelf in part of his ſon's diſgrace, declared to the SHAH, that if SADOC AGA had been really his ſon, it was not poſſible he ſhould have rebelled [a]. This young man was taken priſoner in MAZANDERAN, and brought before the governor of that province, who bid him "be pa-"tient, and conſider his condition as a picture of the world, ſometimes to "ride, and ſometimes to carry the ſaddle," alluding to a ſtory of one of

[b] "He gave his back to the ſmiters, and his cheeks to them that plucked off the hair; he hid not "his face from ſhame and ſpitting."

[a] This is a common-place compliment to oriental tyrants, and has been often proſtituted to the diſgrace of humanity.

their

their prophets, whoſe horſe died under him. SADOC AGA being ſent priſoner to ASTRABAD, had his beard cut off, his face was rubbed with dirt, and his eyes were cut out. He was a youth of more than common vivacity, and when I ſaw him laſt, was richly dreſſed, well armed, and full of mirth. Alas! the ſcene was now changed, his garb was mean, and his eyes deprived of their light: he drooped his head, and his voice was changed. The general aſked him concerning my goods, and told him he muſt pay for them; to which he anſwered, "All that I know of his "merchandize is, that they were taken by MAHOMMED HASSAN, and "by him diſtributed to his people. Would to GOD that MAHOMMED "HASSAN, and his whole houſe, had been buried deep in the earth e're "I had heard of his name. And how can I pay for the goods? I have "nothing left but this mean garb which you ſee upon my back: indeed "this is ſufficient; you have already deprived me of my ſight, and of "what uſe is life to me?" This he expreſſed in pathetic terms, and with that emotion which is natural to a daring ſpirit, though in the deepeſt diſtreſs; but upon his ſaying theſe words, the general ordered him to be ſtruck a-croſs the mouth to ſilence him; which was done with ſuch violence, that the blood iſſued forth.

SADOC AGA being removed, RAHDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED was brought, with a collar and log, in the manner already related of the other priſoners. I might now have ſaid, HOW WISE YOU ARE! as he told me when I ſaw him laſt; but there never can be a proper time to inſult the wretched. Perhaps, in ſtrict juſtice, I ought not to have put any gloſs upon this man's perfidious conduct; but in mercy, which ſeemed to be moſt wanted there, I was ſilent, and took my leave abruptly, having my heart too full to ſuffer this ſort of entertainment.

From thence I went to MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, to whom I alſo made a preſent: this perſon has been already mentioned as father of him who was the governor of ASTRABAD at the time of the rebellion. The KHAN had been charged with the murder of SHAH TÆHMAS, and probably was glad to perpetrate this crime, fearing this prince's reſtoration, in caſe NADIR had died in his expedition to INDIA: this old man was how-

ever in the greateſt confidence with the king, and honoured with the pompous title of, "the high and mighty miniſter of miniſters, partner "of a kingdom, and neareſt to the throne; MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, "lord of lords of ASTRABAD." He received me with great politeneſs, aſſuring me in the ſtrongeſt terms, that he would not leave the place till my buſineſs was done agreeable to the SHAH's orders: "the king," added he, "has ſhewn great favour and kindneſs to GEMAL BEG and you: you "are the king's gueſts, and therefore ought to be mine: and you are now to "conſider BEHAUD KHAN and myſelf as friends. I am charged with a "particular commiſſion from the king to ſee the rebels puniſhed: I muſt "do that for which I know I ſhall be damned; ſo the king will have it. "I know the people here hate me, and have ſhewn the height of their "reſentment; but I am amazed they were deaf to the entreaties of NA-"SEER AGA, a man without guile, who could have no intention but to "preſerve them. How ſtrange it is that a king, whom all the princes of "the earth revere, ſhould not be obeyed by his own people! what could "theſe rebels be ſo mad to think? But whatever they thought, how "could they anſwer plundering you? well! to-morrow is a day of blood, "and I will make them pay you, though I pull the money out of their "throats."

My ſituation was not ſo unhappy as to induce me to thank him for his bloody intentions; for though theſe unhappy men had been rath to a degree of madneſs, and had acted as if they meant to devote themſelves to ruin; yet to oppoſe ſuch execrable tyranny wanted only more force and wiſdom to ſtamp their action with a mark of glory. Nor could I behold without horror a man, whom a blind obedience to his prince could induce to ſhake hands with everlaſting perdition; for ſo I underſtood the extraordinary declaration he had made. It is not improbable but the great ſhare he had in murdering SHAH TÆHMAS, the laſt of their lawful kings, might now come freſh into his memory, and help to draw from him this confeſſion. I told the KHAN, that I apprehended great part of the money which ought to be paid to me, was already recovered; he acknowledged that it was, but had been appropriated to the king's uſe; adding,

adding, that I ſhould ſoon be paid: upon which I took my leave of him.

I could not help reflecting on theſe unhappy men, who ſuffered the deprivation of their ſight: although this muſt be confeſſed a great calamity, according to the common ſenſe of mankind; yet we find ſome inſtances of men [d], whoſe internal ſight has been exalted by it much beyond what they might have otherwiſe onjoyed. The PERSIANS ſubmit patiently to the diſpenſation of providence in this inſtance: few of them are inſtructed in the arts of contemplative life, and yet they ſeem to arrive at a certain tranquility as it were by cuſtom and natural diſpoſition. It is probable that blind men are the more ſincerely reconciled to the thoughts of death, and have ſo far an advantage: the darkneſs in which they are involved, may make them long to break the chains of mortality, and bring them to the ſight of the intellectual world. The PERSIANS regard blind men as dead, apprehending no miſchief from them; for when they are incapable of acting in perſon, they think their counſel cannot be of great conſequence.

I had now a favourable opportunity of enquiring into the more ſecret cauſes of this rebellion, beſides the obvious motives of robbing the king's treaſure, and my caravan; and alſo in what manner they conducted themſelves after I left them. FATEY ALI KHAN, the father of MAHOMMED HASSAN [e], I have obſerved, had ſome years before been put to death by NADIR, as I ſhall more particularly relate in the hiſtory of this great uſurper. This created a ſtrong jealouſy in MAHOMMED HASSAN, that the late governor of ASTRABAD [f] meant to deſtroy him alſo: for he knew the governor was entirely in the king's intereſt; and this increaſed his fear. SADOC AGA, and MAHOMMED KHAN BEG, who were but a remove from boys, pleaſed with the hopes of a little plunder, and puffed up with military pride, fell into the ſame opinion; beſides this, MAHOMMED HASSAN had been in correſpondence with the pretender RADE, whom the TURKS eſpouſed, and in whoſe behalf he had lately appeared in

[d] HOMER, MILTON, LUCAS, and others. [e] The rebel-chief. [f] The ſon of MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN above-mentioned, and a creature of NADIR.

arms in SHIRVAN, at the head of a body of 15,000 PERSIANS and LESGEES, and cut out great work for the king's forces. Thoſe rebel-troops had been entirely defeated ſome months before, which, had there been the leaſt wiſdom among the conſpirators at ASTRABAD, muſt have prevented MAHOMMED HASSAN BEG, and his followers, from appearing in arms. Weak and unexperienced as this young man was, to engage in ſo daring an enterprize, he flattered himſelf into a belief that what he wiſhed would happen, though he did not diſcern by what means: he knew indeed that the king had no forces in MAZANDERAN nor GHILAN, and but a ſmall body in the parts of KHORASAN near ASTRABAD. Thus circumſtanced he bribed into his alliance 1000 TURKUMANS, all cavalry; and between force and perſuaſion, he induced 2000 people of the province, and the adjacent mountains, who were moſtly infantry, to ſhare in his fortune. The people of this province are called KHAJARS, and are ſome of the remains of the antient BACTRIANS[*], ſo much diſtinguiſhed for their treachery, as well as courage, by antient hiſtorians: they were not many years ago eight or ten thouſand in number; they have often plundered great towns, and ſeveral times repulſed the forces of the former kings, enriching themſelves by ſpoil.

When the governor and NASEER AGA fled the evening before the rebels took the city, they went ſeveral days journey into KHORASAN, where they found BEHBUD KHAN with the command of 1500 of the king's beſt cavalry; but it was not till NASEER AGA challenged the courage and loyalty of this KHAN, that he conſented to march againſt a force, which he apprehended would be much ſuperior to his own: and indeed a ſingular providence intervened, or this body of troops had met an entire defeat. When the armies were near each other, one of the KHAJAR officers who had been forced into the rebel-army, went ſecretly to BEHBUD KHAN, and told him, if he would give quarter to him and his company, he would bring them all over to the king's party. This being accordingly promiſed, the officer ſecretly repreſented to his men the impoſſibilty of ſupporting themſelves, magnifying the number of the king's troops, which

[*] Some include KHORASAN, and other parts of independent TARTARY, in the antient BACTRIA, but it probably included the province of ASTRABAD.

he

he pretended were marching upon their rear, as well as front. The two armies being come to an engagement a few days journey to the eaſtward of ASTRABAD; at the firſt onſet the rebels killed 50 men of the king's troops, and made the whole body give way: this advantage however was not followed, the rebels being moſtly infantry: the KHAJAR officer above mentioned, and his company, turning the muſſels of their muſquets down, now rode over to the king's troops: this gave ſuch a ſhock to the KHAJARS, not knowing whom to truſt, that they gave way in their turn: the TURKUMANS, who hitherto were only ſpectators, and perhaps never intended to act, except to plunder the camp of the vanquiſhed, left the the field. The purſuit and ſlaughter of the rebels enſued, and many of them fell. MAHOMMED HASSAN BEG, with about one hundred KHAJARS only, and almoſt every TURKUMAN, got ſafe into the deſerts, where poverty, and want of water, ſecured them from a purſuit; but made their condition amongſt thoſe barbarians hardly to be preferred to death. Beſides theſe, about one hundred fled to SHIRAS, to join the rebels there, and near the ſame number went to BABYLON; but the BASHA of that place put collars of wood about their necks, and ſent them to NADIR'S camp mounted on aſſes. The king thanked the BASHA; but deſired their arms and horſes might alſo be reſtored.

NADIR'S forces marched immediately to ASTRABAD, where they brought the news of their own victory, and ſecuring both the gates of the city, hemmed in ſeveral of the principal perſons concerned in the rebellion, amongſt whom was the governor BABA SADOC. The great humanity and regard which I experienced from this man, gave me the greater ſenſibility of his misfortune, when I heard that his eyes were cut out; and after ſome days of pain, he was beheaded, and quartered, and the parts of his body expoſed in different places in the city.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLV.

The manner of executing malefactors in PERSIA. *The character and number of the* TURKUMANS. *The author ſollicits a reprieve for* HAHDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED. *He is offered payment of his loſs in women ſlaves. Superſtitious apprehenſions of the* PERSIANS.

ON the 18th of May I received, in ſingle pieces and cuts of cloth, to the amount of 1600 crowns, which the general had ordered to be delivered. There was a much greater value in cloth found in the city, but the general thought proper to convert it to his own uſe; which, the better to conceal, and at the ſame time to encreaſe his emoluments, he deſired 50 GAZE more, which I delivered.

In the evening eight TURKUMAN TARTARS were taken in the road near the city, and brought priſoners; upon which the general expreſſed great ſatisfaction, obſerving that there was yet many niches in his pyramid unfilled; one of the two pyramids being called HIS, the other was in the name of MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN. The condemnation of a malefactor in PERSIA is conducted with very little ceremony, nor is the execution attended

attended with any pomp. He is uſually carried to a field, or open place near the reſidence of the military judge; and the executioner cauſing him to kneel, the delinquent pronounces his creed: "There is but one GOD, "MAHOMMED is his prophet, and ALI is his friend," and then his head is taken off with the motion of a ſabre in a thruſting cut, which in drawing back compleats the operation.

I now went to viſit my good friend NASEER-AGA, who had received a donative of honour from the king, for the ſervice he had done in the rebellion. This old man expreſſed a high ſatisfaction in ſeeing me again, after the great dangers we had both been in: he complained heavily of the loſſes he had ſuſtained, which, though true in part, I conſidered as political, in regard to the reſentment he had brought on himſelf, for his aſſiduity in the king's ſervice. He declined talking of the rebellion, ſaying in general terms, "GOD would not permit that the rebels ſhould ſucceed "againſt the king."

The 19th, I went to MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, who gave me freſh aſſurances of diſpatch; and that a conſiderable payment ſhould be made in a day or two. Whilſt I was there, one of the TURKUMAN chiefs, ſuppoſed to be in friendſhip with the king, came to pay homage to the KHAN, and mentioning ſeveral circumſtances in relation to his countrymen, obſerved that they were retired towards BALKHAN: upon which the KHAN, in an imperious and contemptuous ſtile, delivered himſelf in theſe terms: "I will burn and deſtroy all the corn you have on the frontiers "of PERSIA, and try if you will give me battle. I know that you are all "liars and villains, but a remove from beaſts: honour and religion you "have none. Your cloathing is filthy, and full of vermin; ſhake your "caps, and they even cover the ground: your very eye-brows are not "free. You have no better food than mare's milk; but if you have graſs "to cut into it, you devour it greedily. As to your wealth, if a man has "two camels, and as many horſes, he thinks himſelf immenſely rich." The TURKUMAN heard him without the leaſt emotion, and indeed what the KHAN had ſaid was in great meaſure true; except that they profeſs the MAHOMMEDAN religion, and that they eat mutton and horſe-fleſh, as well

well graſs and mare's milk. They have only a ſmall tract of arable land near ASTRABAD, which they cannot enjoy without the friendſhip of the PERSIANS; but the laſt are generally the moſt afraid. They reckon 2500 families of the TURKUMANS on the eaſt coaſt of the CASPIAN, near this frontier: in each family are about ſeven perſons, of which two are ſuppoſed to be fighting men. Towards KHIEVA they are more numerous: in thoſe places where the country will admit of their being purſued, they are kept in awe.

NASEER AGA now informed me by letter, of the arrival of captain WOODROOFE in ASTRABAD-road, and as the TURKUMANS and OGURTJOYS were in arms againſt the PERSIANS, and poſſeſſed of a large number of boats, he thought it unſafe for our ſhip to lay in the road. I anſwered his letter, and thanked him for his advice; telling him, we did not fear thoſe barbarians; and though they ſhould come in number like a ſwarm of bees, if it pleaſed GOD, they would meet their deſtruction from our great guns. This was proper language to talk where the TURKUMANS had their ſpies; and was it not for the terror of our four 4 three pounders, the ſum of money, which I was preparing to ſend on board, might have induced them to attack our ſhip at anchor. We had fired upon their boats on ſeveral occaſions, to intimidate them; for as ſome of theſe boats had twelve or fifteen hands all armed, we ſhould have found it difficult to defend the ſhip: however we had provided cloſe quarters and powder-cheſts, ſo that they could not have taken us without an encounter, to which they were entire ſtrangers.

The 21ſt, HAIDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED delivered the greateſt part of my baggage, of which he had been ſo extremely careful as to conceal it in a well, ſo that it received ſome damage: he alſo paid ſuch part of the ſmall ſum he owed me, as he ſaid was in his power. Nothing was more evident than the game he intended to play: if the rebellion had ſucceeded, he would have robbed me of my baggage, and other things, to the value of near a thouſand crowns: but he was now reduced to his laſt ſtake, and depended on the clemency of the two KHANS for his life, and I reſolved to try my intereſt in his favour. In the morning I went to them when

when they were both together, having juſt condemned, and ordered to execution, twenty-one perſons belonging to KOORDIEMALLA. I acquainted them that the HAHDGEE had delivered my baggage, and I hoped would receive the king's mercy. MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN ſaid to me, "Have you a deſire that he ſhould be ſaved?" I anſwered in the affirmative, "and that I ſhould look on his mercy to the HAHDGEE as a particular "mark of his favour done to me;" to which he replied: "For your "ſake then he ſhall be ſaved. His majeſty has ſhewn you great honour, "it is my buſineſs to do the ſame," with many hyperbolical profeſſions of regard. I returned him my thanks, with aſſurance of the high ſenſe I had of his favour and protection. The HAHDGEE being then ſent for, the KHAN, pointing to me, ſaid, "for his ſake I pardon you;" and immediately his collar and log were cut off; for the nails were driven ſo hard that the parts could not be otherwiſe ſeparated. The HAHDGEE, from his knowledge of agriculture, and great experience in the management of his diſtrict, was a very uſeful man, eſpecially as the province was now almoſt unpeopled: and it is highly probable the KHAN was glad for this reaſon to ſave him.

I then acquainted the KHAN of the fears which NASEER AGA had expreſſed in his letter concerning the OGURTJOY and TURKUMAN pirates, and of the anſwer I had made: he approved of it, and deſired me to conſider his houſe as my own, and the general and himſelf as brothers. I took my leave, and he immediately ſent me eight live ſheep, and four lambs, as proviſion for my family.

The HAHDGEE ſoon came to viſit me, and after making his compliments, before he could feel himſelf clear of his ſhackles, began to talk rebelliouſly in this manner: "They have now given me my life, what "muſt I do with it? They have taken away the greateſt part of my "eſtate, my ſons are run from me for fear, and I am left deſtitute. Shall "I fly into GHILAN? what ſhall I do?" As I had no inclination for his further acquaintance, I did not enter into the nature of his circumſtances, of which he was himſelf the beſt judge.

The 22d, Two couriers arrived from the camp, with orders to the king's generals here, and in the neighbourhood, to prepare for BALKHAN: this expedition was generally thought impracticable; ſeveral armies in paſt ages having periſhed in thoſe deſerts for want of water, and the PERSIANS ſay, that only TAMERLANE, the great conqueror of the eaſt, ever paſſed it ſucceſsfully.

The 23d, I received 3000 crowns, having already recovered about the ſame ſum in cloth and baggage. In a viſit I made BEHBUD KHAN, he demanded, for the ſecond time, if I would take part of my payment in the women who were to be ſold as ſlaves. I imagined when he made this propoſal before, that he jeſted, nor could I ever underſtand how their religion would admit of their women being ſold to chriſtians; but the diſtraction of the times ſeemed to have deſtroyed all diſtinctions: I excuſed myſelf, by ſaying the only merchandize I ſought was raw ſilk. Being informed that my age was 32, he expreſſed great aſtoniſhment at my hoary locks, till I informed him it was a wig, which he took for my own hair.

The 24th, The city was alarmed, with news of the return of the TURKUMANS, who had carried off a great quantity of corn; upon which a diſpoſition was made for cutting off their retreat. MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN and the general differed extremely in their tempers and diſpoſitions; the former was the moſt cruel, as well as avaricious. There were yet two hundred perſons in priſon, of whom many were not guilty: the general bluntly told the KHAN, "the SHAH has given you the power, uſe it "as you pleaſe; but I will not be concerned in ſaving the guilty, nor in "condemning the innocent." A colonel in the army, who had been in favour with the SHAH, and now was unjuſtly impriſoned by the KHAN, found means to acquaint the SHAH with theſe illegal proceedings; the KHAN, having diſcovered this correſpondency, raved like a madman: at night 200 men were ſent to cut down the TURKUMANS corn, and to burn what they could not bring away.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVI.

JOHN ELTON *ordered upon an expedition againſt the* TURKUMANS *who invade* PERSIA. *Perfidy and venality of the* PERSIANS.

THE 26th of May, 1744. appeared a ſtrange phænomenon, as the PERSIANS idly imagined. A ſmoke aroſe from the top of a lofty tree, no fire, nor any other object having been viſibly conveyed there. The moſt ſuperſtitious intimated, that the SHAH was certainly dead; the tree being an image of his greatneſs, and the ſmoak of his breath, which was now departing from him. This alarm, however ridiculous, was dangerous with regard to my ſafety, well as the recovery I ſolicited; but it did not laſt long, for one who had the happineſs to enjoy more common ſenſe than the generality, diſcovered that it was an old bird's neſt, which having been much moiſtened with rain, the ſun drew an exhalation from it. News was now brought, that the SHAH had ordered Mr. ELTON to take charge of all the ſhips which were to go with proviſions to BALKHAN, confeſſing that his own people had no knowledge of ſea-affairs, and declaring in flattering terms, that he knew GEMAL BEG [a] ſerv-

[a] The name now given to Mr. ELTON.

ed him out of love and regard, and not out of fear or avarice. The SHAH however diſcovering there was danger of loſing his forces in this expedition, ſent EMIR KHAN on an embaſſy to the TURKUMANS, to invite them to a ſubmiſſion. One of the TURKUMAN chiefs at the ſame time wrote to the SHAH, repreſenting the impoſſibility of his building a fort at BALKHAN, unleſs he meant to deſtroy all the forces he ſent there, or all the TURKUMANS, intimating their determined reſolution not to ſubmit.

The number of men who had been cut off, having made women very cheap, and the diſtraction of the times, as I have obſerved, preventing the diſtinction of CHRISTIAN and MAHOMMEDAN, I could not reſtrain my ARMENIAN ſervants: in paſt times ſuch commerce in PERSIA would have been attended with fatal conſequences. A woman of no mean quality and beauty came to my houſe, imploring protection; I knew not by what authority I could make my houſe an aſylum, otherwiſe than to permit her to remain with me, if ſhe was not required to be delivered up; beſides as things were circumſtanced, I could not engage to guard her honour from any one, except my ſelf; however, I gave a ſtrict charge concerning her, that no law of hoſpitality might be violated, though the lady ſhould be indifferent upon this article.

Continual demands being made on me for preſents of the fragments of cloth which had been delivered to me, I found no other expedient to preſerve them, than to pack them up, and ſend them on board captain WOODROOFE's ſhip. The 28th, the two KHANS were in great debate, in conſequence of which fifteen MULLAHS were ſet at liberty, and the wives and concubines of the KHAJARS, who had neither youth nor beauty to induce theſe chiefs to keep them for themſelves, were ſent into KHORASAN. The 29th, the foragers came galloping into the city, with notice that the TURKUMANS had defeated an advanced guard of 150 men, and were marching towards the city. The general BEHBUD KHAN, with equal giddineſs and intrepidity, mounted his horſe, and rode out of the city, as if he meant to repulſe them with his own hands; his ſoldiers followed in a confuſed and precipitate manner: and now I learnt that their force, which they had repreſented as 3000, by the detachments they had

had made, was reduced to 800 fighting men: the enemy ſoon retired, and the general and his troops returned. The next day both the KHANS, with all their forces, went to the banks of the KORGAN, two leagues north-eaſt of the city, where they had a parley with the TURKUMANS, intending to prevent any further hoſtilities, till they ſhould know the iſſue of the embaſſy.

The impatience which I expreſſed for the recovery of the money I was entitled to, produced a diſcovery that MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN had flattered the general into a conſent of appropriating the further ſums which had been collected to the uſe of the SHAH's general at HARAR-JERIB: indeed the exigencies of the ſtate greatly exceeded all the poſſible collections which could be made. The 3d of June I found my health began to decline for want of exerciſe. My ſituation was very diſagreeable, for it was dangerous to go abroad even in the city, except when I viſited the KHANS: I complained to NASEER AGA of the trifling payments which had been hitherto made me; obſerving that the KHANS had indeed aſſured me I ſhould be paid ſoon: Sir, ſaid he, I will tell you a ſtory; "A cer-"tain man demanded of his debtor the ſum due to him; the debtor aſſur-"ed him, that the next day the money ſhould be paid. On the morrow "the man returned; but, to his great ſurprize, was informed that the "debtor was gone abroad; however he went after him, and finding him "ſeated in a croſs-way, began to expoſtulate, and remind him of his pro-"miſe. The debtor then ſpoke in theſe terms: Sir, it is my full inten-"tion to pay you; and I am ſeated here for that very purpoſe: for a large "flock of ſheep will paſs by here to-day; ſome of their wool will cer-"tainly remain on theſe buſhes, I will pick it up, and carry it home to "my wife, who will dreſs and prepare it; when that is done, I will make "it into carpets, and as ſoon as I can ſell them, I will diſchage my debt." I was extremely pleaſed with the old man's humour; but this ſtory was too eaſy to underſtand, to afford me any other ſatisfaction. I had already made conſiderable preſents, and purpoſed to make more as ſoon as I apprehended they could produce any effect; but as yet it appeared to be in vain.

MAHOM-

MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN was buſy in the moſt iniquitous proceedceedings, endeavouring to ſuborn falſe witneſſes to condemn the colonel, who, in conſequence of the letter he had written to the SHAH, was now going to the camp. Two of the elders of KOORDIE MALLA, whoſe lives MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN had ſaved for the preſents they had made him, were now prevailed on to offer their evidence to the general againſt the colonel; and that their teſtimony might be heard favourably, they brought him preſents. The general ordered their gifts to be received; but ſaid to them, "You are villains, and enemies to the SHAH, againſt whom, I know, "you have appeared in arms, although you have been acquitted; how "many murders have you been the immediate occaſion of?" They pleaded their innocence; but confeſſed that nine of their people fell in the field of battle, and twenty-one had been executed. Their evidence being rejected, they were diſmiſſed.

CHAP. XLVII.

Moral reflections. The author refuſes to comply with the demands of MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN. *He accompanies a caravan with money. Treachery of the rebels. Nature of the* PERSIAN *ink, paper, and ſeals.*

THUS were theſe infatuated people ſeeking to deſtroy each other: thoſe bad principles which conſtituted them the inſtruments of tyranny, preſſed them under the weight of their own iniquities. The hiſtory of the world will hardly furniſh an inſtance of a nation plunged into ſuch miſeries as theſe, 'till their crimes had ripened them for vengeance. PERSIA, once the miſtreſs of the eaſtern world, the center of oriental learning, arts, and politeneſs, the ſeat of many heroes and kings recorded in the moſt antient and ſacred ſtory; and but as yeſterday confirmed in her conqueſt, and antient boundaries, and enriched with the ſpoils of INDIA, how low is ſhe now fallen! into what diſtreſs is ſhe not involved! But providence ſeems ſtill to preſerve the monarchy, as if it were yet deſtined for ſome great end.

Perjury

Perjury againſt the life of an innocent perſon, ſeems to be one of the greateſt impieties; for beſide the crime of murder, under the ſanction of law; it wounds all law, human and divine, and roots up the foundation of ſociety; but, alas! crimes of this deep dye are not unfrequent in countries, where government is ſupported on a very different plan; where reaſon is improved; where learning flouriſhes; where the pureſt religion is profeſſed; and yet where the laws are not ſufficient to reſtrain; ſo that EXAMPLES only of moral and religious life can check the growth of immorality.

The 4th of June I waited on the general, and repreſented to him the great inconveniency I ſuffered, by being delayed contrary to the king's intentions, as was plainly expreſſed in his decree, to which I referred him. He then told me in very ſanguine terms, "I have orders to leave this "place, and march to ATTOK; but I will not go till you are paid, though "I ſell my horſes, and mules, or borrow money of my ſoldiers. I have "lent 30,000 crowns to MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, and he muſt engage "his credit alſo to ſee you paid." The next day I went to MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, to importune him for my money, and found him in company with the general; the latter entreated me to give a receipt for it, and in return MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN deſired me to take his obligation, payable in twelve or fifteen days; ſwearing by the king's head *, that he would not fail me; alledging that the money which ſhould have been paid to me, was appropriated to the king's ſervice, and therefore I muſt be obliged to wait ſome days longer. "I cannot go from hence," ſaid the general, "without the receipt, the king will demand it of me, and if you will not "give it, I will kill men till I get the money." I anſwered, "I hope no man "will die on my account; but as I preſume, Sir, that you know what "belongs to your duty, give me leave to underſtand mine alſo. I cannot "anſwer to my own conſcience, nor to the merchants my principals, to "give a receipt for the money in queſtion, in exchange for any obligation whatſoever." So we parted abruptly.

In the afternoon NASEER AGA made me a viſit, and urged me in the warmeſt terms to accept of MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN's obligation;

* This is the moſt ſacred of oaths among the PERSIANS.

that

that it was impoſſible the KHAN ſhould mean any thing but to PAY ME; and moreover that I was in HIS POWER to do with me AS HE PLEASED; to which I replied: "I know that all things are in the power of GOD. "As to the reſt, men who profeſs trade, muſt proceed according to the "rules of trade: it is not regular to give the receipt you deſire; the "KHAN may be aſſured that I have a due reſpect for him, as I have for "you alſo; but if he was my own father I would act in the ſame man-"ner, and if you, who are his meſſenger, were an angel from heaven, "how ſhould I be perſuaded that what is evidently wrong, is right?" The old man, who I believe thought I was in the right, looked ſtedfaſtly at me, and was ſilent. My interpreter was of opinion, that I did ill to refuſe, and urged that I might obtain the recovery the ſooner, otherwiſe the KHAN, induced by reſentment, would probably delay payment the longer; but I had no dependence on the honour of any of them; and indeed what confidence can we have in men, whom the thought of damnation cannot intimidate, and who are every day perpetrating the moſt flagitious wickedneſs?

On the 6th, eight men were executed, and ſome elders of the town, upon their refuſal to pay 10,000 crowns which were levied on them, were impriſoned: at the ſame time 8,000 crowns were demanded of the adjacent villagers. This being an UNLUCKY DAY, the general did not depart, as he intended. On the next, the KHANS finding they could make no impreſſion on me, ſeemed to be reconciled to my refuſal of giving my receipt in exchange for an obligation. I ever found it the beſt way in PERSIA, as it generally is in moſt other countries, to oppoſe with decency and reſolution meaſures which have nothing to ſupport them but military law.

On the 10th, I was viſited by a perſon deſcended from one of the PERSIAN prophets, whoſe father had been much honoured by the SHAH, and permitted to ſit in his preſence. He had alſo enjoyed a conſiderable eſtate, which the ſon now inherited; but he declared, that it gave him ſo great trouble, and ſo little profit, that he had petitioned the SHAH to take it from him. In the evening I viſited MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, to acquaint him, that I intended to go to KOURDIEMALLA, and convoy the money

money which I had received, on board captain WOODROOFE, in order to ſend it to GHILAN for the purchaſe of raw ſilk; but for this purpoſe he muſt give me a company of at leſt twenty ſoldiers; to which he conſented, and at the ſame time, without any reſerve, ſpoke to this effect: "The "SHAH is at TAVRIS, from whence he has ſent me orders to ſupply him "with 3000 head of cattle, to pay you 30,000 crowns, and alſo 50,000 "crowns to his general at HAZAR-JERIB; to whom I am alſo to ſend "200 horſes; all which, except the payment of your money, are THINGS "IMPOSSIBLE. I am alſo ordered to kill ALL the perſons concerned in "the rebellion; if I do that, I muſt kill ALL the inhabitants of the pro-"vince; for even the men whom I have made ſoldiers, and truſted as an "advanced guard againſt the TURKUMANS, have had their ſhare in it." He then aſked my interpreter if he could read and write PERSIC, and being anſwered in the affirmative, he ſaid, "then you underſtand the ex-"cellency of our religion beyond your own." The interpreter anſwered, that he had yet found his own moſt conformable to truth, as it appeared to him.

On the 11th, I went to KOURDIEMALLA under a guard of five horſe and ten foot-ſoldiers, taking with me ſeven bales of cloth, and nine bags of money, with other things to the value of 11,000 crowns; obſerving the precaution, not to let any body know at what hour I intended to go out of the town, till I actually went. I know not, whether it was by accident, or deſign; but my guard diſappeared, and left us in a thick wood, three ENGLISH miles from the place of embarcation; however, we got ſafely on board with the money after a day's journey, extremely fatigued with exceſſive heat.

The BALKHAN expedition, for which captain WOODROOFE was waiting, being yet undetermined: MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN had permitted me to ſend the ſhip to GHILAN, on condition that he ſhould return immediately to ASTRABAD-bay. Having diſpatched WOODROOFE, I went on ſhore the next day, but could not hear any news of my guard; I therefore returned to ASTRABAD with my own ſervants. This day MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN publiſhed an order, that all perſons who

had ſhops, ſhould return to them, and follow their buſineſs; otherwiſe he would put them to death, and ſet their heads in his pyramid.

It was remarkable, that although the rebels of HAZAR-JERIB [b], had, after their ſubmiſſion, treacherouſly killed the king's general, and about ſeventy of his men; yet they were not chaſtiſed with half the ſeverity as the inhabitants of ASTRABAD; which I imputed to the little mercy of MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN. He now deſired, that I would ſend one of my people to be always preſent to receive money as it came in, alledging, that if any urgent demand was made on him from other quarters, he muſt be obliged to comply with it: at the ſame time he reproached his ſon the governor, that neither money nor provender for the king's uſe was brought in faſt enough.

Captain WOODROOFE, who awed the pirates whilſt he lay in ASTRABAD road, no ſooner left it on the 13th, but ſeveral armed boats of the OGURTJOYS went on ſhore at KOLEBAWD, killed ſeveral men, and carried off their women and horſes. On the 19th, being heartily tired of waiting, I went to the KHAN, to inform him that I would not ſtay in the city above fifteen days longer; in which time if he did not pay me the money, I ſhould be obliged to make further applications to the king. He aſſured me, that in leſs than ten days it ſhould be ready: adding, that EMIR KHAN was returning from TURKUMANIA with ſome of the rebel-chiefs, who were going to the camp to make their ſubmiſſions; on the aſſurance that the king would do them no harm, and that all was going well.

The 22d, I received a letter from ALI KOULI KHAN [c], the king's nephew, and governor of MESCHED, in anſwer to one I wrote to him, with regard to the payment for the piſtols, and other curioſities, which Mr. ELTON had provided for him by expreſs commiſſion. But without any ſenſe of HONOUR or GRATITUDE, this MIGHTY PRINCE objected to the things: alledging, that they were TOO GOOD for him, and returned them on Mr. ELTON's hands, though they were utterly unvendable. The foot-

[b] A diſtrict in the neighbouring mountains.

[c] The ſame who was afterwards king.

courier,

courier, whom I ſent to MESCHED, poor and deſpicable as he was, did not eſcape without being robbed. This letter gave me an occaſion of obſerving the nature of their writing and paper.

The PERSIANS make their paper of cotton and ſilk-rags, and after it is manufactured they ſet a gloſs upon it with a ſmooth ſtone or ſhell; it is therefore ſoft and ſmooth, and as it is very liable to be torn or broken, they always roll it up. Their letters of correſpondence are wrote on ſmall ſlips of paper, generally in few words, and with great exactneſs; no interlineations or blots being ever ſuffered to appear; they are then made up in a roll, about ſix inches long, and a bit of paper is faſtened round it with gum, and ſealed with an impreſſion of ink, which reſembles our printers ink, but not ſo thick. It is compoſed of a mixture of galls, burnt rice, and gums, and anſwers the double purpoſe of ink and wax; as it ſerves not only for writing, but for ſubſcribing with their ſeal; indeed many of the PERSIANS in high offices could NOT write. Their characters are rather drawn than written: they uſe pens made of reeds brought from the ſouthern parts of PERSIA. In their rings they wear agats, which generally ſerve for a ſeal, on which is frequently engraved their name, and ſome verſe from the KHORAN.

CHAP. XLVIII.

PERSIAN pride with regard to rank. News concerning the ENGLISH *fleet. The author leaves* ASTRABAD, *and is in danger from the* OGURTJOY-*pirates.* Mr. ELTON *embarks at* MESCHEDEZAR. *Manner of* PERSIAN *funerals. The melancholy circumſtances of the* EUROPEANS *in* GHILAN. *Intrigues of the* RUSSIAN *conſul.*

THE 23d, SARU KHAN, a general and relation of the king, arrived in ASTRABAD with a body of forces intended for BALKHAN; I went to pay my compliments to him in the palace where he had taken up his quarters: my viſit was very ſhort, for I obſerved that he had neither ſenſe nor breeding, comparable to MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, who was much diſtinguiſhed for both.

The next day in a viſit I made this KHAN, his ſon the governor aroſe haſtily from his ſeat, and retired: I ſoon underſtood from my interpreter, that I had ignorantly affronted him, by going higher up the room than he was ſeated, though I was on the oppoſite ſide. I could hardly avoid laughing at ſo ridiculous a ceremony, eſpecially as I was his gueſt; but whether it was at his option, his father being preſent, to go as high up the room as he pleaſed, it ſeemed as little conſiſtent with my own health as common regard to my own dignity, to ſit near the door. The PERSIANS treat their ſuperiors in rank in the moſt awful manner, hardly having any voice, or opinion, or thinking themſelves obliged while in their preſence, to acts of civility, even in their own houſes. This is one ſpecimen of the GENUINE GROWTH of arbitrary power, and a deſpotic invaſion of the COMMON SENSE, as well as the COMMON LIBERTY of mankind, to which the more a foreigner ſubmits, the meaner the PERSIANS will think of him.

The 27th, MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN gave directions for the execution of one HARDGEE MAHOMMED[4], alſo an elder of KOORDIEMALLA, and ordered his body to be thrown into the river KORGAN. This being a perſon of diſtinction, who had many women; they went about the woods near the river, beating their breaſts in dreadful lamentations, curſing the author of his death, and calling for divine vengeance on the head of MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, nor did they ſpare NASEER AGA.

This day captain WOODROOFE arrived in 36 hours from LANGAROOD, though he had been ten days in his voyage thither. He brought us news, that the ENGLISH fleet in the MEDITERRANEAN had obtained a COMPLETE VICTORY near TOULON over the united ſquadrons of FRANCE and SPAIN. Alas! I muſt ſtifle the expreſſion of what I then felt; for to the INDELIBLE REPROACH of the NAME of ENGLISH CONDUCT AND BRAVERY, it was but little more than a dream; and only exhibited a ſad inſtance of a very capital miſtake in not diſtinguiſhing the genius and tem-

[4] Not MYRZA MAHOMMED who had been pardoned.

per

per of men, to whom a command is given: and that pride and malice may exiſt in other breaſts, beſides thoſe of PERSIANS, to make a ſport of national honour and juſtice. Nothing created more amazement abroad than the conduct of that affair, except the nature of the puniſhment for the offence.

Though the intended expedition to BALKHAN remained in ſuſpence; the king having ordered Mr. ELTON to take the command of all the ſhips; he was obliged to come to MESCHEDEZAR, where he fell dangerouſly ill. I was very much out of order myſelf; but, on receipt of an expreſs from him, intreating me, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to come to him immediately, I reſolved to wait no longer in ASTRABAD.

The 29th, I took my leave of the governor MAHOMMED ZAMON BEG, who, I ſuppoſe, was wiſe enough to forget the innocent offence I had occaſioned. His father, MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, was already departed for MAZANDERAN. The next day I ſet out from ASTRABAD, taking with me above 5000 crowns more in money, and left MATTHEUSE, my old ARMENIAN clerk, and two ſervants, to importune for the remainder due on the SHAH's decree. As I was in too weak a ſtate of health myſelf to attend the money, and the country being now more quiet, I ſent my interpreter, a ſervant, and five ſoldiers with it, and followed with one ſoldier and a ſervant. In the evening I got up with them, and embarked ſafely with the money. July the 1ſt, The wind being weſterly we were detained; and the 2d, as it ſtill continued in the ſame quarter, we kept at anchor. Seven of the OGURTJOY pirate-boats appeared in ſight, having ten or twelve hands on board each boat, armed with ſpears, ſabres, bows and arrows, and ſome fire-locks. Our force did not exceed thirteen men; however we were well prepared with arms and ammunition, and put ourſelves in the beſt condition we could, expecting very little quarter if they had been hardy enough to board us: being in the diſagreeable circumſtance of having no wind, we were obliged to put a ſpring on our cable, in order to bring our guns to bear on them.

On the 3d, the boats appeared again, bearing down upon us from the eaſt to the ſouth-weſt point of the harbour, where they were wont to land, and

and pillage; but a breeze of wind happily ſpringing up we weighed, and bore down upon them; they then made all the efforts they could with their ſails and oars to get into ſhallow water out of our reach; but we came up with them very faſt. I knew they were villains, and common enemies to mankind; but the remembrance of my written obligation in RUSSIA, not to interfere in any thing military, and a tenderneſs of ſpilling the blood of men untried and uncondemned, reſtrained me from any thing more than permitting our gunner to ſend two ſhots after them, to increaſe their terror of our great guns. The eagerneſs of our ENGLISH ſeamen would hardly ſubmit to the reſtraint, nor did we ceaſe from the purſuit without ſome expreſſions of impatience from them, which would have been deemed mutiny in a king's ſhip.

On the 4th, the wind was at weſt, with light breezes, and a ſtrong current ſetting in. The next day we were extremely incommoded by the heat of the ſun: the 6th, we reached FARABAD, and the next day came to anchor. On the 9th, we weighed and anchored again in MESCHEDEZAR road, ſaluting MAHOMMED KHAN and Mr. ELTON, with three guns: and the KHAN, from a battery which he had built, returned the compliment with the ſame number. I obſerved the currents on this coaſt ſet to the eaſtward. On the 10th I went on ſhore, and had the mortification to find Mr. ELTON in a very low ſtate of health.

On the 11th, Mr. ELTON came on board with thirty poor wretches, who were to be employed in GHILAN as carpenters in the king's new ſhip-yard. In this road we found a PERSIAN and three RUSSIAN veſſels; a corporal came from on board one of the latter, and complained heavily of their detention for the uncertain voyage of BALKHAN, and not leſs of their ignorance of the eaſtern coaſt, and the ſickly condition of their crews; Mr. ELTON told him their ſhips would probably be ſoon relieved one way or other, and that he would ſerve them in any thing in his power.

For ten days we were mortified with contrary winds: in the interim one of the PERSIAN carpenters expired; his friends were very ſolicitous to lay his face towards the eaſt, which were now leaving in our ſtern,

ſtern, the wind coming fair: the PERSIANS could hardly be prevailed on to touch the dead body, it being deemed a pollution, neither would they for a long time conſent he ſhould be thrown over-board, and leaſt of all that any weight ſhould be fixed to his body to ſink him; ſo that he floated on the ſurface. The PERSIANS are generally interred the evening of the day in which they die, and waſhed before they are put into the ground. For this purpoſe there are reſervoirs; but the pooreſt ſort are commonly carried to the neareſt pond. Before the interment the bodies are uſually wound up in a cotton cloth, on which are ſtampt ſeveral parts of the KHORAN. Some of the relations attend the funeral, as likewiſe the MULLAH, or MULLAHS, according to the quality of the deceaſed, ſinging ſome part of the KHORAN.

The 23d, We came on ſhore to LANGAROOD, where I found that the king had at length determined to ſubmit to the remonſtrances of his captains, and decline the expedition to BALKHAN; ordering the proviſions which he had amaſſed for that purpoſe to be ſent to DERREND. The channel which runs 6 ENGLISH miles from the ſea to LANGAROOD, is bordered with reeds and marſhy lands, which ſtunk to a degree that created great faintneſs; and the more ſo, as we were already ſick, every one appearing to the other on the verge of eternity, though perhaps no man thought ſo of himſelf. We found all our friends at LANGAROOD and RESHD in the ſame circumſtances, this ſummer having been extremely unwholſome: but it pleaſed GOD that we all ſurvived it.

The ſhip which Mr. ELTON was building for the king, had now the appearance of being ſoon finiſhed; but the difficulty was how to launch, or get her into the ſea: ſhe was on the ſide of a creek, hardly broader than the ſhip was long; ſhe could not draw leſs than ſix feet, and in many places down the creek there was but four feet water; therefore they propoſed to make a dam, and raiſe the water to aſſiſt her in going off, her lower works only being finiſhed. The north-wind would thus raiſe the water conſiderably, though not without overflowing the adjacent marſhes. Mr. ELTON was alſo alarmed with the fear of RUSSIAN pirates, whom he apprehended would attempt to burn his ſhip: he therefore made

made a boom croſs the channel, and ſet a guard at it, propoſing to build a ſtage on the moraſs, and ſet a piece of cannon on it. Theſe pirates had robbed ſeveral PERSIAN boats near BAKU; they had 30 men on board, and ſome ſwivil guns; and it was pretended, that ſeveral other boats had been brought off from the VOLGA and YAEIK, the crews of which were of the ſame fraternity.

The 2d of Auguſt, I left LANGAROOD, and arrived next day at RESHD, where the RUSSIAN conſul BAKOONIN inſiſted there was a plague at CASHAN, and conſequently that no manufactured goods of that country ſhould be exported for RUSSIA. By the intercourſe which the PERSIANS had with that city, it could not be known that any ſickneſs prevailed more than uſual in the fruit ſeaſon. I concluded from hence, that the conſul ſought an expedient to give the better colour to his advices to the governor of ASTRACHAN, to impoſe a ſevere quarantain, with a view to prevent the ENGLISH veſſels from returning again to PERSIA. I found alſo, by the conteſt there had been between the miniſters of the court of GREAT BRITAIN and RUSSIA, with relation to Mr. ELTON's engagement with NADIR SHAH, that our trade was in no ſmall diſgrace in RUSSIA; and it looked probable that captain WOODROOFE would not be permitted to return to PERSIA with his ſhip.

Our voyage from ASTRABAD had taken up almoſt the whole month of July; and conſequently it might be preſumed that a great progreſs had been made in the recovery of the ballance due at ASTRABAD: therefore, inſtead of returning immediately to ASTRACHAN under theſe apprehenſions, which proved to be too well-grounded, I determined to ſend captain WOODROOFE to ASTRABAD for money. I found myſelf extremely diſordered, as were all the EUROPEANS in RESHD, whoſe bodies, at different periods of their diſtemper, broke out into different kinds of pimples; Mr. BROWN and Mr. WILDER were afflicted with agues; but that did not prevent their politeneſs and friendſhip to me. The FRENCH miſſionaries alſo behaved with great civility.

On the 12th I returned to LANGAROOD, where I found Mr. ELTON in the ſame bad ſtate of health as I left him, with a mind much perplexed

plexed on account of his engagements to the SHAH, perceiving it would coſt us no leſs than the ruin of that trade, which he had been ſo inſtrumental in opening. Though the authority with which I ſet out, had been greatly diminiſhed by the jealouſy and intrigues of ſome of the factors in St. PETERSBURG; yet I ſaw the neceſſity of being diſengaged from Mr. ELTON in ſuch a light, and was ſo deſirous of finiſhing with him in an amicable manner, that I undertook, beſide his ordinary commiſſion, to make him an offer of a large ſum, chargeable on the effects in his poſſeſſion, on condition that he would deliver them to Meſſ. BROWN and company, to the end that we might have no further connection with him. My illneſs ſtill continued, and indeed the damp muſty rooms, the croaking of frogs, the biting of gnats, with a marſhy peſtilential air, and the concern I was under to ſee the trade involved in ſuch inſuperable difficulties, were enough to have diſtempered a mind, as well as body, of a much ſtronger texture than mine; but though theſe circumſtances were added to my illneſs, the low manner in which I lived, created ſo little food for my diſtemper, that I found myſelf in a much better ſtate than any of my companions.

CHAP. XLIX.

Mr. ELTON *quarrels with the author. Captain* WOODROOFE *returns from* ASTRABAD *with* 9000 *crowns. The author is kindly received at* RESHD. *The calamitous ſtate of* PERSIA.

THE 16th of Auguſt I took my leave of Mr. ELTON in a friendly manner, and went to LAHIJAN for the recovery of my health. This place is about 8 miles diſtant from LANGAROOD: I was lodged in a large, airy houſe. LAHIJAN was conquered by SHAH ABAS the GREAT: it was formerly the metropolis of the province, and the ſeat of its king, and is now incomparably the moſt healthful place in that part of the province of GHILAN which is towards the ſea: it is ſituated on an eminence, with a free air on every ſide, the mountains to the ſouthward opening ſo as to cauſe a conſtant draught of wind, which moderates the heat of the ſummer.

In the reign of SHAH SHEFFIE, which was not many years after this place was annexed to the crown of PERSIA, the natives revolted, and one KARIB, a perſon born at LAHIJAN, was elected king of the province, in oppoſition to SHEFFIE. After a ſhort and fruitleſs defence KARIB was taken priſoner, and carried to CASBIN, where he ſuffered a very remarkable death; for this SHAH, with his ordinary cruelty, and in deriſion of his captive, ordered iron horſe-ſhoes to be nailed to his feet, alledging that as he had been uſed to the ſoft rich ſoil of GHILAN, he could not walk unſhod on the harder earth of the country of CASBIN: after lingering ſome days in this torture, he was ſhot to death with arrows, the SHAH diſcharging the firſt, and his courtiers following his example.

Mr. ELTON's indiſpoſition of body, and the offence he had taken againſt the conduct of his employers in EUROPE, for their ſubmiſſion to the RUSSIAN court, though it would have been vain and extravagant to have longer with-held that ſubmiſſion, now brought on his reſentment againſt me. I appeared to him as a deputy for the traders in general; but as his friend alſo, I ſpoke my real ſenſe of things with regard to the common intereſt. The imperious letter which I received from him, dated the day after I left him, was a plain indication of his having vindictive deſigns. He acknowledged to have taken off the maſk with which he had been diſguiſed, making himſelf blacker than I believe he really was; it was eaſy however to perceive his intentions were fixed upon the expedient of a quarrel. When men deſign to act a part which they know to be unwarrantable, it is a common trick to pretend that an injury has been done them, to ſave appearances in doing an injury. I was almoſt tempted to wiſh I had acted a part foreign to my diſpoſition, from a tranſient opinion that in our commerce with ſome men, that conduct is warrantable which, towards others of a different ſtamp, deſerves little better than the name of falſehood; but this thought ſoon recoiled upon me, and confirmed that ſturdy ſatisfaction which ariſes from an equal and conſiſtent conduct, however oppoſed to worldly advantages. Ignorance of the world is ſometimes the happy occaſion of our virtue: it often prevents inſincerity at leaſt, and ſupports that integrity of ſoul, which exiſts no longer than we ſpeak the language

guage of the heart. It is true, there are many incidents in life, in which ſome degree of diſſimulation ſeems to be eſſential to the peace and tranquility of it; and nothing can be more obvious than "if we follow truth "too cloſe, ſhe will kick our teeth out:" therefore the great ſecret is, when, and in what degree diſſimulation, if for want of language we may uſe this term, is neceſſary and conſiſtent with the virtue of the mind. For want of this diſtinction we often loſe the reverence due to truth, even in the firſt ſtages of our lives; and perſons in the higheſt ſtations become the moſt exquiſite proficients in the arts of diſſimulation; ſuch is the wretched ſtate of mankind! Thus I had full leiſure to moralize; for ELTON was inflexible.

Captain WOODDROOFE, whom I had diſpatched the 8th inſtant to ASTRABAD, returned the 21ſt, and I had the pleaſure to learn, that he brought with him 9000 crowns, which compleated, including the cloth recovered, 85 per cent. of the whole ſum demanded. WOODROOFE informed me, that SARU KHAN with his forces was incamped on the river KORGAN, to prevent the incurſions of the TURKUMANS, whom no compact could hold within bounds: I alſo learned, that MATTHEUSE had narrowly eſcaped being robbed of the ſum juſt mentioned, a thief having actually broke into his houſe in the night, and a whole gang were ready to be let in, if his cries had not diſconcerted their meaſures; ſo that this recovery was ſingularly providential in all its parts.

The 27th, the FRENCH miſſionary, who profeſſed phyſic, gave me a medicine, which he ſaid was a ſovereign ſpecific in fevers; this proved to be only the Jeſuits bark, but is not familiarly known in PERSIA, where he had lived for ſome years: this drug can no where be of greater uſe than in the province of GHILAN. Medicines among the PERSIANS are moſtly compounds of herbs; but the quantity and taſte ſuch as would incline one to think, that they were deſigned for horſes, rather than men. The moſt common diſorders with which they are afflicted, are thoſe in the eyes, and the venereal diſtemper: the firſt is ſuppoſed to be occaſioned by the heat of the climate, and the exceſſive uſe of rice.

Being now reſtored to health, I applied myſelf to buſineſs: but, which ever way I turned, Mr. ELTON's engagement to the SHAH created inſuperable difficulties to the eſtabliſhment of our trade. Some of the factors in St. PETERSBURG, who had ſolicited me to accept their authority to act for them, now endeavoured to ſupplant me, from an apprehenſion that I intended to remain in PERSIA, and enjoy their imaginary profits: they miſtook the matter extremely; for I found little more to be expected in PERSIA than the evil effects of jealouſy and ſiniſter intrigues, except being expoſed to the greater calamities of civil war, among a people departed from almoſt every moral virtue. The adventurers in LONDON were perplexed with contradictory advices from their different factors; and, for want of proper information, not knowing whom to truſt, aimed at one point, ſome of the factors in RUSSIA at another, and Mr. ELTON in PERSIA would receive laws from neither of them; ſo that my taſk of mediator was very difficult.

I ſaw nothing could be done in PERSIA by any legal proceeding, and that Mr. ELTON was deaf to my remonſtrances, of the folly and injuſtice, as well as the ill conſequences that muſt attend his breaking with me: to make any fruitleſs compulſive efforts, I concluded would render the matter worſe; I therefore determined that the beſt way to avoid being in the wrong, was to ſhun being too much in the right. Men who mean well often fall into this fault; a certain vanity of uprightneſs betrays them into an injudicious purſuit of it, by which they do real injuries to the community whoſe cauſe they eſpouſe. If their goodneſs of heart is not ſupported by experience or ſtrength of judgment, they are apt to forget there are more ways than one of doing many good actions; and that it is our duty to conſider, not only what is beſt in its own nature; but alſo the moſt practicable means of performing the good we intend. So long as we can maintain our own integrity, we ought to accommodate ourſelves to times, and to the circumſtances of things: I do not mean that we ſhould do evil with a view to the good that may come of it, any more than we ſhould reſtrain the good, ſo as to produce evil as a natural conſequence; but

but that we ſhould temper a paſſionate concern for the cauſe of virtue, with a judicious conſideration of the great end in view.

The 28th, Having informed Mr. BROWN of RESHD on what terms I was with Mr. ELTON; he ſent me a very polite and obliging invitation to take up my lodgings in his houſe: this was the more acceptable, as I was entirely at a loſs where to accommodate myſelf for the ſhort time I propoſed to ſtay in PERSIA; for I was now obliged to reſign my preſent lodgings to MAHOMMED KHAN the admiral.

The intereſt of this KHAN was now on the decline at court, he had acted a baſe part in regard to Mr. ELTON, and the king's maritime affairs. Whether he ſuffered for this, or any other crime, or only for being rich, I know not; not long after I left PERSIA, his eyes were cut out; indeed almoſt every perſon of diſtinction, with whom I had any intercourſe during my abode in that country, had at different times the ſame fate.

Having no good interpreter with me at LAHIJAN, nor many conveniencies of life, I avoided the viſits of the PERSIANS; however the CALENTAR attended by two couriers from the camp, came to ſee me: the king demanded of him 1000 crowns, no other reaſon being aſſigned for it, than his having ſerved under the late governor, whom the king had cauſed to be put to death, though he was reputed a very juſt man; but it ſeemed as if juſtice was incompatible with ſome of NADIR's maxims of government.

The 1ſt of September I left LAHIJAN, and arrived the next day at RESHD, where Mr. BROWN and Mr. WILDER, the two ENGLISH factors, received me with great politeneſs and hoſpitality. The chief part of the converſation of that city turned upon the king's mulcts, exactions, and murders. I waited on the new governor of RESHD, who received me very kindly, and aſſured me that the SHAH had ordered him to treat the EUROPEANS with reſpect: on his being informed what had happened to me in PERSIA, and that curioſity had partly brought me thither, he ſaid, "Alas! this is no "time for ſuch entertainment in this country." Hearing that I had a connection with Mr. ELTON, he obſerved, "I ſuppoſe you have orders and "inten-

"intentions to take all the effects belonging to the merchants out of his "hands," which I underſtood as an intimation of his opinion of ELTON's dangerous ſituation. Here I enjoyed greater ſecurity, at leaſt of my perſon, than I had for eight months before, having been in a continual warfare; but though the ſcene was changed, it was not altered much for the better; for I was now engaged in a ſevere conteſt, in which both my intereſt and honour were concerned.

Mr. ELTON, who had been kind to an extreme, and continually wrote me the tendereſt letters of friendſhip, was become inexorably deaf to all overtures of accommodation. He had done me injuſtice in a double reſpect; firſt, by thinking I could be prevailed upon, by the conſiderations of friendſhip, to ſubſcribe to things falſe, abſurd, and impracticable; and then by fearing I ſhould make uſe of my knowledge of his affairs in an unfriendly manner; whereas no treatment of his ever drew from me a ſingle word of what he had ſaid in the confidence of ſecrecy, neither before nor ſince his death. At this time I had the ſtronger motives to a reſerved conduct, from the conſideration that ELTON had power to do miſchief, and diſtreſs the affairs of the merchants; but this reſerve expoſed me afterwards to the greater vexation. During the few days I was in RESHD, I employed myſelf in enquiries concerning the country, and its inhabitants, digeſting and comparing my own obſervations with thoſe of perſons, whoſe experience was much greater.

CHAP. L.

A ſhort account of the perſons, genius, character, and diet of the modern PERSIANS. *Of their hoſpitality, with ſome reflections on falſe amuſements in* EUROPE. *Of the ornamental part of the dreſs of* PERSIAN *women, compared with ſome parts of* EUROPEAN *dreſs.*

THE modern PERSIANS are robuſt, warlike, and hardy, and are now all become ſoldiers: were their government once eſtabliſhed, no nation could ſooner recover itſelf from ſuch miſerable circumſtances. They have money

money enough[a]; their houſes are eaſily rebuilt, and their land is fertile: theſe advantages would bring in foreigners, at leaſt TARTARS and INDIANS, and with them the conveniencies of life, and at length reſtore their arts and manufactures.

They are naturally inclined to temperance; and with regard to diet, ſeem to be more in a ſtate of nature than the EUROPEANS. By way of amuſement they uſe opiates, but not near ſo much as the TURKS: they drink coffee in ſmall quantities with the lees, alſo ſherbets, and an infuſion of cinnamon with ſugar. Their ſimplicity of life generally renders their domeſtic expence eaſy; though in this laſt particular travellers do not agree: I grant however that the PERSIANS underſtand very little of what we call prudence, and oeconomical government.

In their common diſcourſes they often introduce moral ſentences, and poetical narrations, extracted from their poets and other writers: it was formerly their conſtant cuſtom to entertain their gueſts with favourite paſſages out of their poets. Reflexion and repetition are the only means of ſtrengthening or ſupporting the memory: cuſtom has made it a kind of pedantry in EUROPE to be frequent in the repetition of the wiſe ſayings either of the antient or modern divines, philoſophers, or poets; but if from the nature of the human mind we ever ſtand in need of a monitor, what office is more conſiſtent than to render the wholeſome rules of life familiar, by making them a part of our ordinary converſation. It might be wiſhed, that this practice was introduced among EUROPEANS, rather than that barrenneſs of diſcourſe we often find, or the irkſome and pernicious amuſement of cards.

Now I have mentioned a circumſtance ſo intereſting to the great world in EUROPE, I muſt acknowledge that cards, in the original uſe of them, are confeſſedly as innocent as any other inſtrument of diverſion, to thoſe who are at a loſs for ſomething more rational[b]; yet in the manner now in faſhion, they cannot but diſſipate the thoughts

[a] Speaking of the time ſubſequent to NADIR's death, and a few years afterwards.

[b] I have ſomewhere heard that cards were invented by a FRENCH courtier, to amuſe one of the kings of that nation, who was remarkably weak.

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in ſome, and enervate the mind in almoſt every one who is cloſely attached to them: they muſt be a great means of feeding thoſe paſſions which corrode the heart, and warping the affections from their proper bias, oppoſe the eſtabliſhment of virtue in the mind. We often ſee this verified, though few will confeſs it. Is it poſſible in the nature of the thing, that thoſe who give a conſtant application to this entertainment, eſpecially if they play high, can ſupport a tranquility of mind? And, in proportion as the mind is diſturbed, is it not diſqualified for the eſſential duties of life? This matter is beſt underſtood by thoſe very perſons who play high, and conſume their time in this polite idleneſs. The PERSIANS ſeem to fall into the contrary extreme; they delight in ſitting ſtill, and muſing. I never obſerved any of them to walk in their apartments, as the EUROPEANS, and particularly the ENGLISH, are uſed to do. I remember to have heard of a TURK, who, being on board an ENGLISH man of war, enquired very ſeriouſly if the people were troubled with an evil ſpirit, becauſe, ſays he, "they are never at reſt?"

The PERSIANS are polite, but extravagantly hyperbolical in their compliments: this indeed is peculiar to the eaſtern nations; and the ſcripture, which partakes ſo much of that ſtile, is known to be derived from that quarter. The PERSIANS were celebrated for a particular genius to poetry; but war, which has deſtroyed their morals and learning, ſeems alſo to have damped their poetic fire; though they have ſtill many traces of that fertility and ſtrength of imagination, for which in paſt times they were deſervedly famous. The antient PERSIANS are recorded to have taught their children a moſt exact reverence for truth; but the preſent generation are as notorious for falſhood: they poiſon with a ſweet-meat, in always ſaying what is pleaſing, without regarding the truth. In their diſpoſitions they are chearful, but rather inclined to ſerioufneſs than loud mirth: in this they are not ſo much the FRENCH of ASIA, as in their politeneſs and civility to ſtrangers. Hoſpitality is a part of their religion; on occaſions of the leaſt intercourſe, men of any diſtinction invite ſtrangers, as well as their friends to their table; and it is remarkable how they pride themſelves in other teſtimonies of reſpect, which have been occaſionally mentioned in this work.

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I did not obſerve that they are vindictive; yet if their kindneſs to their beſt friends, happens to be turned by any fortune of war into enmity, they often become inſenſible: this ſeems to be more owing to a cuſtom of cruelty, than a revengeful temper. On the other hand, there are not many inſtances of the placable diſpoſition, which the CHRISTIAN religion ſo ſtrongly recommends: in theory however they are friends to this virtue, and they apparently exceed the CHRISTIANS in the duty of reſignation.

With regard to their perſons and dreſs, the men in moſt parts of the country ſhave their heads very cloſe; the young ones have often a lock on each temple, which hangs pendant, and ſerves as an ornament to their faces, ſomewhat in the manner of EUROPEAN beaus ſome years ſince. Their cheeks are ſhaved, but the beard on the chin reaches up to their temples: the men for the moſt part are tall, and of good ſhapes, their complexions ſwarthy, particularly in the ſouthern parts, and their eyes and hair black. Moſt of them have caps of cloth, which riſe ten or twelve inches, and terminate on the top in four corners: they have a ſhorter cap for ſummer, faced with grey BOKHARIAN lambſkins; their ears, which are very large, are always left bare, and generally hang down, in conſequence of the weight of the caps reſting on them, and many are proud to ſhew that their ears are not cut off[c]. Crimſon is a colour they much affect in their caps, as well as in their outward garments; and it makes a grand appearance: deep blue, which one ſeldom ſees worn, except in coarſe cloths, is their mourning colour. The better ſort of people wear a ſaſh of KHERMANIA wool, wrapped about their heads as turbands; ſome of theſe are ſo exceeding fine as to coſt 100 crowns[d], and the common price for ſuch as are good is 8 or 10 crowns: their heads are thus kept very warm, and the more as they ſeldom pull off their caps, but wear them even in the preſence of their king.

The outward garment of the common ſort of people, is a ſlight cotton: in general they wear two or three light veſtments, which reach only to their knees; ſo that their dreſs gives them a great advantage over the TURKS, who wear long effeminate robes. Beſides their cloth garments

[c] Many were in theſe circumſtances in NADIR's time. [d] 25 l.

of the ordinary ſort, which are much eſteemed, ſome have them lined with furs, as ermins, ſquirrels, or ſables, which are worn for warmth, and very often for ſtate alſo; for it is common to ſee a great man ſit in his ſable-coat in the height of ſummer: but it muſt be obſerved that theſe coats reach no farther than the waiſt; thus demonſtrating a judicious diſtinction not to load themſelves with a ſuperfluous weight of cloaths. Silk is worn in ſummer by men of faſhion, eſpecially for under-garments; but theſe as well as their cotton and woollen under-garments are quilted, which renders them very warm without being heavy. Under the ſaſh round the waiſt they carry a long pointed knife in a caſe of wood, which is mounted with gold or ſilver. Their ſhirts, for the moſt part, are made of checkered ſilk and cotton: theſe have neither wriſt-bands nor collars, for they always go bare-necked. The ſleeves of their upper garment reaches down to their fingers: they ſometimes wear cloth-ſtockings, which ſet looſe like boots; but for the moſt part they uſe only ſocks of wool, which reach over the ankles. They wear ſlippers like women's ſhoes without quarters; theſe are of ſhagreen made with the ſkin of horſes rumps, which are prepared hard and rough like a ſeal's ſkin: the heels being high, they are calculated to carry one out of the dirt, but are extremely uneaſy to thoſe who are not accuſtomed to them. Their drawers, or rather trowſers are more convenient than breeches in a hot country, being without any tight ligaments: for this reaſon their cloathing in general ſeems to be more conducive to health and ſtrength than that of EUROPEANS: the ſaſh round the waiſt may however keep their loins too warm; but girding up the loins is indeed a part of dreſs the moſt antient we read of. Their writers carry their ink and pens about them in a caſe which they put under their ſaſh, or in their pocket under their arm.

The ſimplicity of their taſte deſerves commendation: a PERSIAN KHAN once queſtioned me cloſely upon the ſleeve of my coat, deſiring to know what I intended by that bit of cloth hanging from my arm? I of courſe told him, that in EUROPE we conſidered it as an ornament. I could not help reflecting however on the ſuperfluous and inconvenient part of dreſs, which the polite nations of EUROPE have introduced, in defiance of natural

ral taſte, and the conſideration of health and convenience. Externals are always moſt apt to affect the mind, and where we ſuffer ourſelves to follow implicitly him who, for his private convenience, or to gratify his humour, continually makes alterations in our manner of cloathing, it muſt engage too great a ſhare of the attention, at leaſt of the youthful part of a nation, and create a dangerous expence; nor can we be ever ſure of retaining that which in all reſpects is found elegant, ornamental, and convenient, if we happen to ſtumble on it. The ASIATICS ſeem beſt to underſtand this matter, and to act moſt agreeably to reaſon. We muſt however acknowledge, that the variety of which the politer nations of EUROPE are ſo fond, ſerves to exerciſe invention, improve arts, and create a circulation of money; but ſtill it tends to the ruin of ſtates, when the inclination is carried to an exceſs, and beyond what private incomes will bear, after all eſſential duties regarding government, and charity, are complied with. But in a compariſon of the ORIENTAL and EUROPEAN dreſs, there is not any thing in the latter half ſo abſurd and ridiculous as that part of the female furniture called a HOOP. If the PERSIAN, who was ſo much ſurprized at the ſleeve of my coat, which was in no extreme of the faſhion, had ſeen this whalebone-machine, he would certainly aſk, if the woman was to be ſewn up in it with a wild cat, as they ſometimes uſe bags when they torture females. Tell him, that it is deſigned to be worn about her waiſt, and, he would conclude it was a puniſhment for ſome act of incontinence; but never would a man, in his right mind, conceive it to be intended as an ornament; and that the greater ſpace a woman occupies, the greater her quality, the more important her appearance, and as ſome imagine, the more exquiſite her charms.

And ſince the reſentment of a cuſtom ſo injurious to health and convenience, as well as true taſte, has drawn me thus far; I cannot help obſerving very ſeriouſly, that as the perſons, and external ornaments of women are ſo much the attention of men, it is not ſurprizing that they ſhould make uſe of their proper ſtrength, and improve their own advantages; but I apprehend there are very few ſenſible women, and yet fewer men, who conſider this romantic machine as ornamental. Cuſtom is indeed

deed a tyrant over both ſexes, and the pride of imaginary embelliſhments almoſt as ſtrong a paſſion with the youthful part of the gay world, as even the love of life. All nations ſeem to agree, that rich manufactories, ſilver, or gold, or precious ſtones, or what is juſt the ſame, ſomething in imitation of them are ornamental. It is alſo confeſſed, that the more immediate ſeat of the graces is the face, and the women of all countries apply their ſkill to the improvement of it; preſerving at the ſame time thoſe veſtures which they think add a luſtre to their natural advantages. How can EUROPEANS laugh at ſome particular parts of the dreſs of remote nations, when perhaps none of them wear any thing ſo ridiculous as a large hoop? Beſides, though cuſtom may cauſe any thing to paſs for modeſt, it cannot alter the nature of climates, nor prevent thoſe diſtempers which ariſe from cold; neither will the ſtreets grow broader, or houſes, churches, or theatres extend their walls to keep pace with this romantic extenſion of habilliment.

The dreſs of the women in PERSIA is ſimple, differing from the men rather for the diſtinction of ſexes, than by affecting any form ſhocking to nature: they adorn their arms with bracelets after the manner of ſome EUROPEANS, and their heads with jewels of ſeveral kinds: one of theſe is compoſed of a light gold chain-work, ſet with ſmall pearls, with a thin gold plate pendant, about the bigneſs of a crown-piece, on which is impreſſed an ARABIAN prayer: this is fixed to the hair at the upper part of the temple, and hangs upon the cheek below the ear. They have large ear-rings, and ſome are ſaid to wear gold-rings ſet with pearls in their noſe, which is incomparably the worſt taſte they have; the poorer ſort wear the ſame thing in baſer metals: their hair hangs in treſſes; their ſhirts, as well as the men's, are of a thin manufacture of ſilk and cotton; but theſe are open at the breaſt in the manner of men's ſhirts in EUROPE, whilſt the men's are ſupported on the left ſhoulders by a ſmall button; the women alſo wear drawers and ſlippers as the men.

The PERSIANS obſerve an outward decency in their cloathing; their very religion ſeems to exact it of them, and the ſimplicity of their cuſtoms contributes to the ſame end. They are neat in their houſes; and even the meaneſt

meaneſt ſort are uſually very clean in their cloaths, which have ſeldom any rent; but if it was not for their repeated bathings, the want of changing their ſhirts would render their perſons indelicate.

CHAP. LI.

The nature of the military, civil, and eccleſiaſtical government of the PERSIANS *under* NADIR SHAH. *Some account alſo of their cruelty, diviſion of time, language, and opinion of* EUROPEANS. *Of their religion, and their manner of praying; with remarks on the falſe reſerve of* CHRISTIANS.

THE PERSIANS, by their neglect of moral duties, have prepared the way for that ruin in which they are involved; and it ſeems as if providence, by ſuffering the uſurpation of NADIR, had permitted them to fill up the meaſure of their iniquities.

The government of PERSIA is monarchical, and in every branch of it ſtrictly deſpotic. The favour of the PRINCE, and of thoſe on whom he devolves his authority, is eſſential to the ſecurity of foreign merchants; and this may be beſt preſerved by proper and timely preſents, by a good appearance, and a reſolute diſcreet ſupport of their own dignity. The PERSIANS are not unſkilled in the laws of juſtice and humanity; but as war has been, for many years, their only ſtudy, and a fondneſs for outward ſhew their predominant paſſion, theſe laws are very little regarded when they interfere with their inclinations: hence a good horſe, a ſilver-mounted bridle, and a girl, will generally induce a PERSIAN to violate juſtice, and even to commit that for which he is morally certain of death.

The camp and court in NADIR's time were the ſame; and the eccleſiaſtical, as well as civil and military officers always attended. The chief adminiſtrators of the law were the MULLAH-BASHI, and the NAIB-SADAR, or NÆVAB, who are judges in eccleſiaſtical and civil concerns. The KAZIÆSKAR is judge of the army, and the SHEICHUL ISLAM is reputed

puted of equal rank with him. The DIVAN BEGUI[a] receives all records, decrees and public accounts, and decides in all affairs relating to the political government. The principal officers of this court are the SUPERINTENDANT and SECRETARY: The MUSTAFI MIEMALEK[b] acts with them, and has MUSTAFIS under him for the care of the ſeveral diviſions. Theſe agents of the crown make their court, and find moſt profit and ſecurity in propoſing means of oppreſſing the people by heavy exactions.

The higheſt eccleſiaſtic in towns is judge, and tries civil cauſes under the governor, who generally refers the parties to him; and upon the receipt of his verdict the governor gives a final judgment. But military people ſeldom have their cauſe tried by any but the latter. Theſe governors are often as deſpotic as ſovereign princes; and though they are accountable for all their actions, and have often their ears cut off, their noſes ſlit, and are ſeverely beaten on their back, baſtinadoed on their feet till their nails come off, and not unfrequently ſtrangled, yet they ſeldom abſtain from acts of oppreſſion.

The BEGLER-BEGS[c] have the power of life and death, as have alſo thoſe SARDARES[d], who are on the frontiers. In NADIR's reign there were only three BEGLER-BEGS, one in KHORASAN, the other in DERBEND, and the laſt in SHIRASS, all of them as cruel as they were powerful. Thoſe in high office make uſe of the moſt extraordinary and unaccountable methods of oppreſſion. There was a remarkable inſtance of this in NADIR's brother, IBRAHIM KHAN, who, when governor of TAVRIS, having a lame mule, aſked his groom what he might ſell her for? The groom, ſuſpecting his deſign, and knowing his avarice, anſwered 2000 crowns. "Oh!" ſays he, "more a great deal." At length the price was fixed at 10,000; and the groom being armed with authority, demanded of every citizen and villager a certain ſum for the mule, in ſuch terms as plainly ſhewed that a ſum was to be levied on them. Some, to avoid being beaten, paid him 20, 30, 40, or 50 crowns, till at laſt he came home with

[a] Chancery. [b] General over-ſeer of the empire. [c] Lord of lords, the higheſt rank of officer in power. [d] Generals.

the

the 10,000; and after all he obliged a man to take the mule in good earneſt for 120 crowns, which is the price of a ſmall one free from blemiſh.

In how great a degree cruelty reigned in PERSIA in NADIR's time, may be judged from the choice which he made of his repreſentatives, and from their copying him ſo exactly, though with leſs judgment. I was told, that in the ſpring 1741, a perſon named KALIB KHAN, from being a broker of ſilk, returned from the camp to RESHD, dignified with the title of admiral of the CASPIAN ſea. This elevation ſo intoxicated him, that thinking himſelf neglected in point of ceremony, he inſtantly ordered the chief of the ARMENIAN merchants to be called into his preſence, cauſed one of them to be put to death, and threatened that all the ARMENIANS and GEORGIANS ſhould ſuffer the ſame fate, if they did not bring to him all the arms that were to be found in the caravanſerais of RESHD; keeping three of them as hoſtages till he extorted handſome preſents, and large promiſes from them. He was ſo offended that the RUSSIAN conſul had not ſhewn him the reſpect of waiting on him in perſon before his entrance into the town, that when the conſul's interpreter came to compliment him in his maſter's name, he baſtinadoed him, ſpoke diſreſpectfully of the EMPRESS, and not ſtopping here, put to death an interpreter belonging to the reſident of that nation, ſeized a RUSSIAN ſhip, and, by threats and ill treatment, obliged the crew to embrace MAHOMMEDANISM. On EASTER-DAY he laid ſiege to the conſul's houſe, and fired 250 ſhots on it; but at length being oppoſed by the people of the town, he was obliged to withdraw his artillery.

In conſequence of the complaints made to NADIR, KALIB KHAN was called to the camp, and treated with great ſeverity; the crimes alledged againſt him were various, and many of them concerned the SHAH himſelf; but I never heard there was any particular reſpect paid to the RUSSIANS in the puniſhment inflicted on him. Such cruel exactions and monſtrous proceedings have frequently ſtirred up the people to rebellion; but the want of ſecrecy in their counſels, and of mutual confidence, ever rendered

dered their attempts inferior to the ſagacity and reſolution of NADIR, till they took the reſolution of killing him in his own tent.

As to the religion in PERSIA, the TURKS and PERSIANS equally acknowledge the KHORAN as firſt promulged, to be the great law of their prophet MAHOMMED; but they trace their eccleſiaſtical diviſions, and inveterate animoſities as high as his immediate ſucceſſor. ALI was MAHOMMED's brother's ſon, and married to FATIMA, the daughter of that falſe prophet. From this the PERSIANS naturally infer his right to the ſucceſſion, which was notwithſtanding invaded by his uncles ABUBEKER, OMAR, and OSMAN, the brothers of MAHOMMED, whoſe uſurpation, both as kings and prophets, is approved of by the TURKS. At length ALI ſucceeded, and the diſpute might have been loſt in oblivion, had he made no difference in the KHORAN: yet this produced no extraordinary effects till the 14th century, when SHEFFIE, a man of an exemplary life, who pretended a regular deſcent from ALI, began to teach and expound the MAHOMMEDAN law, and the doctrine of ALI's followers, in preference to the TURKISH doctors of divinity; this revived the remembrance of the injury done ALI by his uncles, whom the PERSIANS began to curſe in their public prayers: they alſo changed the form of the MAHOMMEDAN creed, by giving ALI the title of THE FRIEND OF GOD. Theſe two ſects being divided, thoſe who maintained the ſucceſſion of ABUBEKER, OMAR, and OSMAN, called themſelves SUNNIS, whilſt the followers of ALI took the name of SCHIAS.

Experience has proved that it is next to impoſſible to keep mankind ſteady to any form of worſhip, even where they profeſs the ſame faith in eſſentials; and if this is the caſe where religion is founded in truth, as in that of CHRIST; it is no wonder that ſo abſurd a doctrine as MAHOMMEDANISM, profeſſed by ſo many millions of people, ſpread over ſuch a vaſt tract of country, ſhould create diviſions with regard to ceremonials, and the conſtruction of texts, in themſelves inexplicable; nor is it ſtrange that this ſhould produce national and irreconcileable hatred. It muſt further be obſerved, that their morals and true notions of life having, in a great meaſure, given place to a martial genius and military ſhew, it is eaſy

to

to conceive the cauſe of the long and bloody wars which have been carried on between the neighbouring ſtates of PERSIA and TURKEY. It cannot here be improper to mention the method taken by SHAH ABAS to make a difference in opinion inſtrumental to the peace and ſecurity of his government. This prince, finding in his people a great propenſity to rebellion, gave ALI two names, and then artfully inſinuated, that one ought to be revered in preference to the other; thus he promoted ſuch a diſſention among them as brought both parties the more eaſily to make him umpire, and ſubmit to his government.

The PERSIANS believe the MOSAIC to have been the true religion before CHRIST, whom alſo they acknowledge to be a true prophet, and teacher ſent from GOD; but that the religion he taught was contained in a book which, at MAHOMMED's coming, was taken by the angel GABRIEL into heaven, and the KHORAN brought down in it's ſtead; this however they do not attempt to prove. They ſay alſo, that JESUS CHRIST did not die upon the croſs; but that another perſon was miraculouſly brought there in his place; thus confeſſing the truth of our SAVIOUR's miſſion, but confounding it with abſurd fables.

The common people pray at break of day, noon, and ſun-ſet; but the HADGEES pray at theſe times, and alſo in the afternoon, and at night. The MULLAH, when he goes to prayers, mounts a turret appointed for that purpoſe, which over-tops the houſes, from whence at day-break, mid-day, and evening, he invokes the ſupreme being, by ſaying; "O "GOD, there is but one GOD; MAHOMMED is his prophet, and ALI his friend." After repeating theſe words three times, he makes a prayer to this effect; "Glory be to the ſovereign of the univerſe, and to the judge "of the laſt day; we glorify thee; we beſeech thee to aſſiſt us in our "neceſſities, to lead us in thy ways, and in the paths of righteouſneſs, "and to prevent our falling into the ſnares of perdition." I never obſerved that the PERSIANS have any marks of that falſe modeſty which prevails among CHRISTIANS of the beſt ſort, who, to avoid the imputation of affectation, or hypocriſy, are as jealous to be ſeen on their knees, as afraid to commit any criminal action. If a bold maſculine piety, and

a ſincere awful ſenſe of the ſupreme being are very conſiſtent things, this excuſe of modeſty muſt be owing to an error in education. The reſervedneſs of ſome CHRISTIANS is certainly carried to a great exceſs: I have known perſons pious before marriage, confeſſedly negligent in their devotion afterwards, the prejudices of education being ſuch as that neither party choſe to be ſeen on their knees; and we all know that any neglect may grow into a habit. Not ſo does the incomparable MILTON paint our firſt parents; not ſo does nature nor reaſon dictate; ſurely this is not what our SAVIOUR meant by admoniſhing us to retire to the cloſet; and is diametrically oppoſite to what may be inferred from that paſſage of ſcripture, that the unbelieving party in marriage is ſaved by the believer. Such an exceſs of reſerve, if ſuch is common, muſt be injurious to religion, and highly deſtructive of the advantages derived to mankind by the example of piety, particularly in the matrimonial ſtate.

The PERSIANS ſeem to be under the influence of a certain degree of enthuſiaſm, without which devotion in ſome men is but a languid office: their imaginations are warm, and it is probable they receive no common help from thence. But here it may be aſked, whether any degree of paſſionate warmth is warrantable in devotion? Whether it is effectual, is alſo a point about which CHRISTIAN divines ſeem to differ in their ſentiments. If paſſion is eſſential to the make and compoſition of man; if experience evinces, that hardly any of our actions are devoid of paſſion; if the great art of human life is not to eradicate the paſſions, but to adopt the proper objects of them; if mankind cannot think ſo abſtractedly as a pure effort of unmixed reaſon implies; I preſume it follows, that SOME DEGREE of paſſion is warrantable in devotion; that degree will depend on the different turn of men's minds, and we may leave the great object of our devotion to determine the reſt. If GOD is the common parent and univerſal friend of mankind, we muſt be affected towards him, with all the energy of the ſoul, which cannot be exerted without the aſſiſtance of our paſſions: and it ought to be remembered, that towards different objects the ſame paſſions affect us differently. We muſt learn to think conſiſtently of the ſupreme being, but leave nature to herſelf with regard to the

manner

manner of the operation of thoſe paſſions, and not refine the thing away. Further, if the great object of all the powers and faculties of the ſoul is GOD; if hope, and fear, and love, as paſſions, belong to any thing more than mere ſenſitive life, the exerciſe of them is due to the great author of nature, and conſequently ought to be employed in our addreſſes to him; for theſe, by their happy mixture, under the influence and guidance of reaſon, conſtitute that paſſionate warmth which, I preſume, is not only warrantable, but in many minds eſſential. And can it with any conſiſtency be thought, that our SAVIOUR's prayer in HIS PASSION, as properly called, was devoid of the paſſion we are now ſpeaking of; if it was not, it will follow, that in proportion to the earneſtneſs of our petitions to heaven, there will be a mixture of paſſion, though reaſon may at the ſame time be ſupported in its full ſtrength.

To return to the PERSIAN manner of devotion: after waſhing themſelves, and combing their beards, they often count beads on a ſtring as is the cuſtom of ſome CHRISTIANS, and probably learnt of the MAHOMMEDANS. At certain parts of their prayer they ſtand, then kneel, and then proſtrating themſelves on the earth, ſet their foreheads on a bit of clay, about the ſize of a crown piece, ſuppoſed to be brought from MECCA, and conſequently to have a CHARM. They always carry it about them, tied to the upper part of their arm. They, as well as the CHRISTIANS, make their prayers long, in contradiction to the experience of mankind, how laborious a taſk it is to keep all the faculties of the ſoul awake for a ſhort interval. "Let thy words be few," is an admonition well ſuited to the weakneſs of human nature; though the obſervance of it may argue the ſtrength of the underſtanding. It is a ſhrewd remark, that there is a great difference between praying, and ſaying of prayers; and that we ought not to expect that GOD will attend to our prayers, if we do not attend to them ourſelves. Beſides, if a life ſpent in the fear of GOD, and obedience to his laws, is one continued prayer to him; will he require a multiplicity of words? Will he demand a longer attention than the mind is capable of, or the duties of life will permit? I do not mean by this remark, to lend any aſſiſtance in countenancing the indolence and impiety

which reigns ſo much among ſome CHRISTIANS, but to recommend an aweful approach of the deity; and in our private addreſſes to him, to ſpend as much time in preparing the mind, as in the addreſs itſelf, and not deſtroy the dignity; and, as we may fear, the efficacy of the duty, by a careleſs and abrupt intruſion into the more immediate preſence of the aweful majeſty of heaven.

The MAHOMMEDANS having certain ſtated hours for prayer, are punctual in the obſervance of this duty, and, to all appearance, perform it with more attention than the CHRISTIANS generally do: and though the PERSIANS are become ſo extremely immoral, yet they give one proof of religion vaſtly ſuperior to the CHRISTIANS: for I never could obſerve, that they mentioned the name of the ſupreme being, except upon ſolemn occaſions, or at leaſt in a reſpectful manner.

The PERSIANS have ſome of the JEWISH rites among them; and alſo this peculiarity, that when they pray, they never permit the image of any ſenſible object to be before them; nor is it permitted to pray with any thing of gold about them, as if it was eſteemed an object of idolatry. They invoke the interceſſion of the departed ſouls of ſome of their prophets and pious men.

As to ſuperſtition, I have already given numerous inſtances how inclined the PERSIANS are to it: A MAHOMMEDAN is offended if a perſon applies to any mean uſe a written paper, leſt it ſhould contain the name of the ſupreme being. This may plead in it's excuſe that reverence which all mankind owe to the deity; but for their other ſuperſtitions, they are for the moſt part much leſs conſiſtent: as for inſtance, a MAHOMMEDAN, ſtrictly ſpeaking, is not only defiled by the touch of any thing belonging to a hog, but even, they ſay, by a ſhoe, when it is made by an end where a hog's briſtle has been uſed.

The MAHOMMEDANS have numerous ſectaries, as well as the CHRISTIANS. NADIR was no bigot, nor in the leaſt given to ſuperſtition: on the contrary, he expoſed the blunders of their favourite prophet ALI, and even of MAHOMMED, and the fallacies of many popular opinions, of which I ſhall have occaſion to mention more hereafter.

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The external obligations of juſtice and charity are oftentimes overlooked among the MAHOMMEDANS, as well as among people of a better religion: they have found out the art of cheating their own ſouls, by endeavouring to reconcile religion and oppreſſion. Extortion is forbidden by the MAHOMMEDAN law; but ſuppoſe a neceſſitous perſon wants 20 crowns for 2 or 3 months only; there are many inſtances of requiring a quarter of a batman of ſilk, which, at the common value, is 4 crowns. The obligation is made thus: Having lent ſuch a perſon ſo much, I buy of him ſuch a thing, for which I am to pay ſo much. Thus they reconcile what would otherwiſe be eſteemed a groſs violation of their law.

The PERSIANS have ſolar and lunar years, by which they regulate their different concerns. The new years day [a] of their ſolar year is on the tenth of March; but their moveable feaſts and faſts depend on the lunar year. They have two great faſts, which, they ſay, were commanded by GOD, who gave MAHOMMED orders to inſtitute them for the expiation of their ſins: in this time they eat nothing in the day, but at night they make two or three meals of the ſame kind of food as uſual. As to the other diviſions of time, their weeks are the ſame as ours, and their days conſiſt of 24 hours, which they reckon in the ſame manner as the ITALIANS.

The TURKISH language is the moſt common in PERSIA; it prevails on the ſouthern coaſt of the CASPIAN, as well as in thoſe provinces which were formerly conquered by the TURKS, as SHIRVAN and ADERBEITZAN; but the illiterate people ſpeak a barbarous mixture; and I obſerved a different dialect in GHILAN and MAZANDERAN: the pure PERSIC is little known but in the ſouthern parts, on the coaſt of the PERSIAN gulph, and the confines of ARABIA; but particularly in ISPAHAN. In matters of learning they uſe the ARABIAN language, in which is depoſited the greateſt part of that knowledge for which the PERSIANS were once diſtinguiſhed: and the politer people are fond of ARABIAN words, which renders their diſcourſe the leſs intelligible to men of inferior rank. The

[a] Which they call NEVROUZ.

learned

learned languages, familiar to EUROPEANS, are not known amongſt them. As time ſeems to have made no change in the cuſtoms of ASIA, but the ſame manners remain as we read of two thouſand years ago, ſo the language, particularly of the PERSIANS, has the ſame idiom and ſublimity of expreſſion.

They write as the HEBREWS, from the right to the left; and often range their lines in an arbitrary manner; ſo that upon one leaf of paper they ſometimes write in ten different directions, and this only to ſhew the writers ability in obſerving the proportion of words and lines in each.

The want of curioſity, even in ſome of their people of diſtinction, is very remarkable: it is true, the greateſt part of theſe are of mean parentage and education, and are fallen very low in point of knowledge, though they have good natural parts: this is indeed the leſs ſurprizing, as reading, the firſt ſtep to knowledge, of late years has been as little taught to thoſe bred to arms, as to the vulgar; we may ſay, it is more peculiar to the MULLAHS. They alſo fall into a great abſurdity in their manner of inſtructing; I have obſerved their boys reading leſſons out of the KHORAN in ARABIC, which they do not underſtand; and, to add to this farce, as they ſit, they make a motion with their head and body, alledging that this helps ſtudy: thus does affectation ſupply the place of real learning. They acknowledge that the EUROPEANS have two eyes, and themſelves but one; or, in other words, that we have knowledge, and an univerſal ſkill in arts and ſciences, to many of which they are entire ſtrangers; and, if I miſtake not, their preſent method of education is not likely to remove this evil.

Thus the revolutions of time, and the changes to which human affairs are ſubject, in conſequence of men's iniquity, have involved thoſe nations in ignorance, who once enjoyed all the advantages which could grace and adorn human nature, and were diſtinguiſhed as patterns of learning and politeneſs.

PART

KINGDOM
INDEPENDENT TARTARY
TARTARY
EMPIRE

PART III.

ATTEMPTS

Made to open a TRADE to

KHIEVA and BOKHARA

IN MDCCXL.

WITH A

JOURNEY along the weſtern coaſt of the CASPIAN in 1746.

CHAP. LII.

Two BRITISH *factors in* RUSSIA *attempt to open a new trade into independent* TARTARY; *with the ſeveral adventures that befel them.*

AS I am now on my departure from PERSIA, I ſhall introduce the journals of ſome other travellers on the eaſtern and weſtern coaſt of the CASPIAN, particularly as theſe gentlemen were perſonally known to me, and had a connexion with the affairs of the RUSSIA company: to theſe I ſhall join Mr. VAN MIEROP's journal to MESCHED. As theſe journals are not verboſe, and their authority is good, they muſt afford ſome ſatisfaction to the curious. It may be obſerved, that half the pleaſure in this kind of reading, is to compare the relation with the map, and render that an object of ſenſe, which is otherwiſe abſtracted. This method helps at leaſt in fixing the idea of the thing related in a more permanent degree.

Whilſt Mr. ELTON was uſing his endeavours for opening a trade over the CASPIAN ſea, Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON and Mr. REYNOLD HOGG undertook to eſtabliſh a commercial intercourſe with KHIEVA, BOKHARA, and

and other parts of TARTARY, of which they give the following account. "On the 26th of February 1740, we ſet out from St. PETERSBURG with a "ſmall quantity of goods, expecting to return by the end of the enſuing "winter. Our intention was to learn, if any trade could be carried on "amongſt the TARTARS, particularly thoſe of KHIEVA and BOKHARA.

"Paſſing through the cities of MOSCO, VOLODIMUR, MUROM, and AR-"SAMAS, April the 6th we arrived at SAMARA, which is ſituated on the "eaſt-ſide of the VOLGA, at the diſtance of 1800 werſts* from St. PETERS-"BURG. SAMARA being the laſt place in RUSSIA in our rout, we procured "the neceſſary diſpatches of the governor, who had the command of the "TARTAR expedition. The 12th of June we proceeded on our journey "under a convoy, and travelling ſouth-eaſt in a beaten road through a "deſert 300 werſts, we arrived the 17th at YAEIK, a town belonging to "the COSSACKS, who are ſubjects of RUSSIA. Here we changed our "EUROPEAN for TARTAR habits, and providing ourſelves with camels, "horſes, and other neceſſaries, we diſcharged our RUSSIAN attendants. "It was not without the utmoſt difficulty that we perſuaded ſome KHAL-"MUCKS and TARTARS to engage in our ſervice: the COSSACKS of the "YAEIK abſolutely refuſed, giving us many inſtances of the diſtreſſes of "their own people, who had been plundered and made ſlaves in attempt-"ing to go to KHIEVA; but we were reſolved to encounter all difficulties. "A chief of the KIRGEESE TARTARS had ſent us two perſons as guides; "and we flattered ourſelves that the authority of their chief, would be an "inducement to their fidelity in our defence.

"Finding other KIRGEESE, who were returning home from YAEIK "with merchandize, we joined them, making in all about twenty perſons "on horſeback; our goods were loaden on camels. The 26th of June we "ſet out on our journey, and travelled due eaſt about 60 werſts every day, "through a deſert without any road or path; the TARTARS directing "their courſe by remarkable hills and rivulets, well known to them. We "were obliged to keep watch night and day, knowing that when

* 1200 miles.

"parties

" parties meet, the weakeſt, even if they are of the ſame HORDA [b], are " ſubject to many inconveniencies, and if they are of different HORDAS, " they kill thoſe who are advanced in age, and make ſlaves of the young " people.

" On the 7th of July we perceived a party at a diſtance, and our com- " panions purſued, and took three KHALMUCKS, with ſeven horſes. This " was eſteemed a legal, and a valuable prize, and was attended with this " further advantage, that we procured intelligence of the HORDA we were " in queſt of.

" July the 11th, We fell in with a party of KIRGEESE, with whom moſt " of our company remained; ſo that we were conſtrained to continue our " journey with our two guides only. We proceeded north-eaſt till the " 16th, when we arrived near the HORDA of our friend, JEAN BEEK " BATER; he made us the compliment of ſending his ſon, with ſeveral " other relations, to meet us, who conducted us the next day to his KA- " BITKA [c]. On reckoning our diſtance, we found it 800 werſts from the " river YAEIK. This TARTAR-chief was ſitting on a carpet in his tent; " he roſe, and bid us welcome, and making us ſit down with him, he " took a large diſh of KUMEESE [d], which he drank, and made us do the " ſame. We gave him ſome ſmall preſents, which he immediately divided " amongſt the company. Some days after we made him a more valuable " preſent, telling him that our deſign in going to KHIEVA, was to fix " and carry on a trade there; in which, if we ſucceeded, we ſhould bring " much larger cargoes; and then it would be more in our power to re- " quite him for all his favours: in anſwer to which he aſſured us, that we " might command all the ſervice in his power, to forward our deſign; and " inſiſted that we ſhould continue with him till the extreme heat was abat- " ed, and refreſh our cattle, which, from hard travelling, were in a very " weak condition.

" The KIRGEESE TARTARS poſſeſs a very extenſive tract of land, hav- " ing the BASHKEERT TARTARS to the north, the black KHALMUCKS,

[b] A tribe of TARTARS. [c] Tent of the nature already deſcribed to be in uſe among the KHALMUCKS. [d] Mare's milk fermented.

" with the city of TASHCUND to the eaſt, the KARAKULPACK TARTARS " and the ARAL lake to the ſouth, and the river YAEIK to the weſt. They " are divided into three HORDAS, under the government of a KHAN. " That part which borders on the RUSSIAN dominions, was under the au- " thority of JEAN BEEK, whoſe name on all occaſions was honoured with " the title of BATER [r].

" They live in tents made of wooden ſtakes, and covered with a felt " of camel's hair; this they fix or remove with great eaſe, whenever they " change their quarters, and they never ſtay above two or three days in a " place. They feed on horſe-fleſh, mutton, and veniſon, and drink fer- " mented mare's milk to exceſs; ſo that they often intoxicate themſelves " with it. They have no grain, nor any kind of bread. When they go " upon an expedition they take a ſmall quantity of cheeſe, which they call " CRUTE; this being diſſolved in water, is their chief ſuſtenance during " their journey. Money is hardly known among them; their riches con- " ſiſt in cattle, fox, and wolf furrs, which they exchange with their neigh- " bours for cloaths, and other neceſſaries. What little religion they have, " is MAHOMMEDANISM, and their language has a great affinity with that " of the TURKS. They are a ſtrong robuſt people, but rude, ignorant, and " treacherous. They are very civil to ſtrangers, whilſt theſe continue under " their protection; for they eſteem it the greateſt diſhonour to affront a " gueſt: but no ſooner is he departed, than his profeſſed friend and pro- " tector will ſometimes be the firſt perſon to rob him, and happy if he eſ- " capes without being made a ſlave.

" Theſe KIRGEESE TARTARS have very little ſenſe of many atrocious " crimes, particularly robbery. Their ordinary puniſhment in this caſe, " is only reſtitution to the perſon robbed; and for murder the loſs of their " goods: ſometimes indeed for the latter, the criminal and his whole fa- " mily, are delivered up into ſlavery to the relations of the deceaſed.

" We remained with JEAN BEEK, and travelled in his company till the " 8th of Auguſt, when we found ourſelves in the latitude of 51 ½, five

[r] This word ſignifies here

" days

"days journey to the east south-east of ORENBURG. This city was lately "built by the RUSSIANS, as a barrier against the KIRGEESE and KARA-"KULPACK TARTARS[z], and likewise with a view of opening a trade "with them for furrs, gold-dust, and rhubarb.

"Having received directions from JEAN BEEK, and taking one of his "relations for our guide, we joined a caravan of KIRGEESE and TURKU-"MAN TARTARS, about sixty in number. With these we travelled south-"west near 50 werfts a day for eight days: we met several parties, but re-"ceived no harm from them; although several TURKUMANS joined us, "who, after having been robbed of their effects, had with great difficulty "escaped with their lives.

"August the 6th, we reached the ARAL lake, which is reckoned 22 days "journey from ORENBURG, and 12 from the river YAEIK. We travelled "south along a very high and rocky shore, where we were scarce able to "get any water once in two days; and this was so bitter and salt, that "necessity only obliged us to drink of it. The KARAKULPACKS inhabit "the east shore of this lake, where the river SIRR falls into it, and the "ARAL TARTARS the south shore, where it receives the great river AMO. "The latter use only small fishing boats, and never venture far from the "shore. It is said that a person cannot conveniently ride round this "lake in less than 35 days, being computed above 1000 ENGLISH "miles. There are abundance of wild horses, asses, antelopes, and "wolves; here is also a very fierce creature, called JOLBART, not un-"like a tyger, which the TARTARS say is of such prodigious strength "as to carry off a horse.

"September the 3d, we left the lake, and arrived at a valley full of "brush-wood, and almost knee deep of stagnated water. We were in-"formed that this was the channel of the river OXUS, which had run betwixt

[z] In 1748 and 1749 these TARTARS brought about 40,000 l. value in silver, and drove a considerable trade with the RUSSIANS; the greatest part of this silver was the plunder of the PERSIAN camp in 1747, on the occasion of the massacre of NADIR SHAH.

"the ARAL lake and the CASPIAN ſea; but was ſtopped up by the "TARTARS many ages ſince [b].

"The 5th, we came to the city JURGANTZ, which appeared to have "been a large place; but now was entirely in ruins, no other building re- "maining than a moſque. Here our company were very devout: they "offered their prayers to heaven for their ſafe journey, and then went in "ſearch of gold, which they ſaid, they had frequently found waſhed out by "the rains from amongſt the ruins of this city. We travelled on ſouth-eaſt "till the 8th, when we arrived at ſome villages belonging to the TARTARS "of KHIEVA. On the 9th, our company left us, and with our guide on- "ly we proceeded due weſt 9 hours, and reached the city of KHIEVA, "which is 17 days journey diſtant from the CASPIAN ſea, and from OREN- "BURG 33, computing a day's journey to be 40 RUSSIAN werſts [c].

"We took our lodgings in a caravanſerai, which was a very mean build- "ing. Here our goods and baggage were immediately ſearched and va- "lued, for which we paid duty 5 per cent. We had then full liberty "to ſell them; but we could not diſpoſe of a ſufficient value to maintain "ourſelves and our cattle: for NADIR SHAH, who was then on his return "from INDIA, was expected to make this place a viſit; ſo that it was our "misfortune to arrive when the ſtate began to be in great confuſion. The "people were ſo infatuated as to think themſelves a match for the PER- "SIANS; but when they heard that the SHAH was with them in perſon, "they were greatly terrified.

"A few days after our arrival, one of the KIRGEESE came to us by "night from our guide, and informed us, that if we conſulted our own "ſafety, we muſt return immediately; that the company we had parted "with on the 9th, had been plundered by the TURKUMANS, and ſeveral "of them killed; that they durſt not ſtay longer in theſe parts; but were "reſolved to make up their loſs on the road by repriſals. Finding he "made no impreſſion on us, he took his leave, promiſing to return in the "ſpring, in company with our guide, if the country was in peace. KHI-

[b] See page 355. [c] 27 ENGLISH miles.

"EVA

"EVA lies in the latitude of 38 ½, and is the reſidence of a KHAN. It is ſituated "on a riſing ground, has three gates, and is defended by a ſtrong wall of "earth, very thick, and much higher than the houſes: it has turrets at "ſmall diſtances, and a broad deep ditch full of water. The place is "large, but the houſes are low, the greateſt part of them being built with "mud; the roofs are flat, and covered with earth. It commands a pleaſant "proſpect of the adjacent plains, which, by the induſtry of the inhabitants, "are rendered very fertile.

"The dominions of KHIEVA are of ſo ſmall extent, that a perſon may "ride round them in three days; it has five walled cities, all within half "a day's journey of each other. The KHAN is abſolute, and entirely in-"dependent of any other power, except the MULLAH BASHI, or high-"prieſt, by whom he is controled. The KIEVINSKI TARTARS differ "very little from the KIRGEESE; but ſurpaſs them in cunning and trea-"chery. Their manners are the ſame, only that the KIRGEESE live in "tents, whilſt the others inhabit cities and villages. Their only trade is with "BOKHARA and PERSIA, whither they carry cattle, furrs, and hides, all "which they have from the KIRGESE and TURKUMAN TARTARS, who "often prove very troubleſome neighbours to them. The place itſelf "produces little more than cotton, lamb-furrs, of a very mean quality; and "a ſmall quantity of raw ſilk, ſome of which they manufacture.

"The conſumption of EUROPEAN cloth, and other commodities, is in-"conſiderable, as is the whole trade of this place; ſo that no profit can "be expected any ways proportioned to the riſque. The duty on all "goods belonging to CHRISTIANS is 5 per cent. and to all others who are "not of the MAHOMMEDAN faith: but on the goods of MAHOMMEDANS "only 2 ½ per cent. The whole revenue ariſing to the KHAN does not "amount to 100 ducats yearly. Their coin is ducats of gold, each weigh-"ing one MUSCAL, or 3 penny-weight ENGLISH; alſo TONGAS, a "ſmall piece of copper, of which 1500 are equal to a ducat. Their weights "are the great BATMAN equal to 18 lb. RUSSIAN, and the leſſer BATMAN "9 ½, which they divide into halves, quarters, and ſmaller parts. Their "meaſure is called GAZ, equal to 12 inches ENGLISH."

Theſe

Theſe factors remained in KHIEVA till the 15th of December, the PERSIANS having in the interim taken poſſeſſion of this place, the particulars of which I ſhall inſert in the life of NADIR. The ſmall quantity of goods which they had with them, were ſold to the PERSIANS; but not being able to recover the money, Mr. HOGG was obliged to remain there, intending to return home by the ſame rout he came, whilſt Mr. THOMPSON proceeded to BOKHARA, deſigning to return home through PERSIA, and over the CASPIAN ſea. The TARTARS whom Mr. HOGG expected as a convoy, having been attacked by the TURKUMANS, were driven back to their own country, except thoſe who loſt their lives in a ſkirmiſh. Hence it was not till the 6th of April 1741, that he left KHIEVA, and finding that the TURKUMANS were roving upon the weſtern ſide of the ARAL lake, he paſſed the AMO, and travelling eaſtward to the country of the KHARAKHULPACKS, in fifteen days he croſſed the river SIRR, which falls into that lake, and thence proceeding in ſearch of JEAN BEEK, the chief of the KIRGEESE TARTARS, he was ſet upon by ſeventeen of them, and plundered, narrowly eſcaping with his life. He found means however to make his complaint to JEAN BEEK, who was gone upon an expedition againſt the black KHALMUCKS, and obtained reſtitution of part of what he had been robbed of, with a promiſe of the remainder, which was never fulfilled. It was as good fortune as he could expect to get ſafe to ORENBURG; and from thence in the next ſpring he arrived in St. PETERSBURG, to the great ſatisfaction of his friends.

Mr. THOMPSON, whom we left proceeding to BOKHARA, gave the following account of the remainder of his journey: "I went to AZARIST, "the laſt city in the dominions of KHIEVA, and the caravan which I had "joined, croſſed the AMO in boats: we travelled five days along the "eaſtern banks of that river; then we provided a ſupply of water, and "entered a ſandy deſert, taking very little reſt till our arrival at BO-"KHARA.

"This is a large and populous city, lying in the latitude 39 ½; three days "journey to the northward of the river AMO: it is the reſidence of the "KHAN, who is entirely abſolute, though his power extends very little be-

"yond

" yond the city. The adjacent country is called TURKISTAN, and is go-
" verned by ſeveral BEEKS, or chiefs, who are wholly independent of each
" other, as well as of the KHAN of BOKHARA.

" The town is ſituated on a riſing ground, with a ſlender wall of
" earth, and a dry ditch: the houſes are low, and moſtly built of mud:
" but the caravanſerais and the moſques, which are numerous, are all of
" brick: the BAZARS, or market-places, have been ſtately buildings, but
" are now the greateſt part of them in ruins; theſe are generally built of
" brick and ſtone. Here is alſo a ſtately building of the ſame materials,
" appropriated for the education of prieſts, who receive very conſiderable
" profits by their public diſcourſes on the different points of their reli-
" gion, which is the ſame as that of the TURKS. They differ from the
" PERSIANS, not only in regard to MAHOMMED's ſucceſſor, but in par-
" ticular ceremonies: their hatred to the PERSIANS is much greater
" than to the CHRISTIANS, and they eſteem themſelves equally unclean
" by touching either of them; never omitting to waſh themſelves imme-
" diately after leaving their company.

" The place is not eſteemed unhealthy as to the air and ſoil; but the
" water is ſo very bad, that many of the inhabitants are confined ſeveral
" months in the ſummer by worms in their fleſh, which they call RISH-
" TAS: ſome of theſe, when taken out of their bodies, prove to be above
" 40 inches long. There are alſo ſerpents and ſcorpions which infeſt their
" houſes, and are very venomous; the ſting of the ſcorpion cauſes great
" pain, and ſometimes death: the moſt effectual remedy they find for the
" immediate cure of this diſtemper is to bruiſe the ſcorpion, and apply it
" to the wound.

" The inhabitants of this city are more civilized and polite than thoſe
" of KHIEVA; but they are alſo cowardly, cruel, effeminate, and extreme-
" ly perfidious. Great numbers of JEWS and ARABIANS frequent this
" place; though they are much oppreſſed, and often deprived of their
" whole poſſeſſions by the KHAN, or his attendants, who ſeize them at
" their pleaſure; and notwithſtanding they pay moſt heavy taxes, it is cri-
" minal in them to be rich.

" The

"The trade of BOKHARA is much declined from what it was formerly: their product is cotton, lamb-furrs, down, rice, and cattle; and they manufacture ſoap, cotton-yarn, and callicoe, which they carry to PERSIA, and receive returns in all ſorts of manufactures of that country; ſuch as velvet, ſilk, cloth, and ſaſhes: woollen-cloth is alſo brought hither from PERSIA, as likewiſe ſhalloons, indigo, coral, and cochineal. They have rhubarb, muſk, and caſtorium, and many other valuable drugs from the black KHALMUCKS and TASHCUND. Formerly they received lapis-lazuli, and other precious ſtones, from BIDDUKHSHAN, the capital of the country of that name, which is computed ſixteen days journey from BOKHARA. But the late wars, and the frequent robberies on the roads make it difficult to procure any of theſe commodities; ſo that they are carried through another channel. The KHAN and his officers are poſſeſſed of very rich jewels; but never diſpoſe of them, unleſs in caſes of the greateſt neceſſity, and even then they are jealous of their being carried out of the country.

"They make very little conſumption of EUROPEAN commodities: as to cloth, they uſe it moſtly in caps; but no foreign commodity bears a price proportionable to the riſque of bringing it to market.

"Their money is ducats of gold, weighing a MUSCAL, or 3 pennyweight ENGLISH, alſo a piece of copper, which they call TONGAS, that paſs at 50 to 80 to a ducat, according to their ſize. They have no ſilver money of their own coin; but ſince NADIR SHAH took this place, the PERSIAN and INDIAN ſilver coin is very current amongſt them.

"The meaſure in BOKHARA is GAZ, equal to 31 inches ENGLISH; but they always meaſure cloth by the PERSIAN meaſure of 40 inches. Their weights are the BATMANS, containing 16 DRUMSERS; which laſt they divide into halves, quarters, &c. each DRUMSER containing 1375 MUSCALS, of which 85½ are equal to a RUSSIAN pound; ſo that the BOKHARIAN BATMAN is above 16 pounds.

"The duty, on all imported goods, belonging either to natives or foreigners, is 1 per cent. and on goods exported 10 per cent. The revenue

"venue from this duty is reckoned 1000 ducats yearly in time of peace, "which but ſeldom happens. The PERSIAN and TARTAR languages are "both ſpoken here; but all their writings are in the PERSIAN tongue."

Mr. THOMPSON continued at BOKHARA till May; when he received notice that the ARAL TARTARS had plundered all round KHIEVA; and Mr. HOGG, as already related, happened to be an unfortunate ſufferer. As the TARTARS had beſet all the roads, and cut off ſeveral caravans coming from MESCHED, threatening even BOKHARA itſelf; Mr. THOMPSON continued impatient till the end of July, having no proſpect during that time of travelling with any ſecurity. Several people, who had eſcaped from KHIEVA gave an account that the OUSBEGS had recovered that place, and deſtroyed the PERSIAN KHAN with all his attendants. Upon this the communication with KHIEVA was prohibited, the PERSIANS intending them a ſecond viſit; for which purpoſe they had ordered proviſions for a large body of men.

The road to PERSIA being now the only ſafe way of returning to RUSSIA, at length he joined ſome merchants, who, having hired people to conduct them through by-roads into PERSIA, were reſolved to run all hazards. He gives the following account of the remainder of his journey. "On the 8th of Auguſt we ſet out, and travelled eaſt, paſſing through ſe- "veral OUSBEG villages till the 12th. After turning to the ſouth, and tra- "velling through deſerts we came the 16th to the river AMO, and croſſed "it at KIRKIE, a fort belonging to the OUSBEGS, ſubject to PERSIA: "here we paid a ſmall duty, and proceeded ſouth-eaſt through deſerts "till the 21ſt, when we arrived at ANTHUY, an OUSBEG city; computed, "in the direct road, to be only three days journey from BOKHARA.

"This country was then entirely ſubject to the PERSIANS, who carry "on a great trade in cattle. Here we were detained ten days, waiting for "a caravan, which was diſpatched the 31ſt, when we ſet forward, and tra- "velled weſt through narrow vallies bounded by high mountains: having "paſſed ſeveral villages which were deſerted by the OUSBEGS, we arrived "the 6th of September at MARGIEHAK, the firſt PERSIAN city on that "ſide.

" ſide. This is a very ſtrong place, ſurrounded by a double wall, and " governed by a KHAN: it has a garriſon of 500 men, and is defended by " ſeveral pieces of cannon. In ſummer it is very unhealthy, by reaſon of " the frequent peſtilential winds, which often kill thoſe who are expoſed " to them. To ſecure themſelves againſt this inconvenience, the people hide " themſelves under ground, or falling flat on the earth, cover themſelves " with wet cloaths, till theſe winds blow over. The cattle which are " moſt expoſed, are generally deſtroyed by theſe winds, though they are " but of a ſhort continuance. During our ſtay here, which was only four " days, moſt of the people in the caravans fell ſick, and great part of the " cattle, which was their chief merchandize, died.

" On the 11th we travelled ſtill weſt, through dry and ſandy deſerts, " where we got only two pots of water during four days, and this was ſo " bitter, and ſmelt ſo ſtrong of ſulphur, that the cattle would hardly drink " it. On the 15th, continuing our journey by a high ridge of rocks, and " a ſmall rivulet of ſalt water, we came at length into a beaten road. We " paſſed through many villages, the greateſt part of which were deſerted; " thoſe which were inhabited being chiefly AFGHANS, brought from the " new-conquered dominions. The country hereabouts is very dry, bar- " ren, and mountainous.

" September the 22d, we arrived at MESCHED, the capital of KHORA- " SAN, and the favourite city of NADIR. It was at this time governed " by his ſon RIZA KOULI MYRZA: it is ſituated to the north of a ridge " of mountains, and is well ſupplied with water, which is brought hither " in an aqueduct from a great diſtance: in time of peace it is a place of " great trade, caravans are employed daily from BOKHARA, BALKH, " BIDDUKHSHAN, KANDAHAR, and INDIA; as well as from all parts of " PERSIA. The BAZARS, or market-places, are large and well built, " filled with rich merchandize, and frequented by great numbers of people " of different nations. There were computed about ninety caravanſerais " in this city, all in good repair. Great numbers of people were ſent hi- " ther by NADIR SHAH from all parts of PERSIA, as well as from the " new-conquered dominions; and all other means were uſed to make it a

" flouriſh-

"flouriſhing city: it is 14 days journey diſtant from BOKHARA by the "direct road, 20 from BALKH, 26 from BIDDUKHSHAN, and 30 from "KANDAHAR."

The account which Mr. VAN MIEROP gave of the trade of MESCHED three years afterwards[k], plainly ſhews how rapid a progreſs NADIR SHAH made in the ruin of PERSIA, even of this favourite city.

CHAP. LIII.

A ſuccinct account of the diſtances and appearance of the country between CASBIN *and* MESCHED, *as reported by Mr.* VAN MIEROP.

AS I have already given ſome idea of the nature of the country between RESHD and CASBIN, the following extract of Mr. VAN MIEROP's journal will exhibit a view of the country from CASBIN to MESCHED, which was deſigned to have been the great mart for our CASPIAN trade.

"From CASBIN we paſſed over a large plain that produced nothing but "thiſtles, which the inhabitants uſe as fuel, and food for camels. After "travelling about 25 ENGLISH miles we arrived at the village SHEKENDIE. "Our journey lay ſtill through the plains, on which are ſeveral ſpots of "arable land: we travelled 30 miles, and finiſhed our ſtage at the cara-"vanſerai VENGI IMAM; continuing yet on the ſame plain as far as the "caravanſerai CARA, 30 miles: the next day we paſſed over ſeveral bridges "and ſmall rivers, and advanced 30 miles to TÆHIRAN, in all about 115 "miles, the country being bordered by high mountains on the north and "ſouth from CASBIN. TÆHIRAN is a city incloſed with a wall of earth, "which has many round turrets; but the whole is much decayed: here "we found proviſions in plenty, and the bread exceeding good.

"Our next ſtage was 35 miles diſtant to the great caravanſerai KEBUD "HUMBED, near which is a lofty turret covered with glazed tiles. The

[k] See this account vol. II. p. 24.

" ſoil is indifferently fertile, but not ſufficiently watered. From hence " we travelled to EVANCKEEF; the land was rich and well watered, but " uncultivated. The next day we advanced 30 miles to the village KARA, " paſſing by a rock of ſalt, which is covered with a thin coat of earth " and moſſy ſubſtance. From hence we proceeded 2 miles to the village " FAHDE, where we found the country well cultivated, and abounding in " water. DEHMAMECK caravanſerai is the next ſtage, at the diſtance of " 20 miles, the land hereabout is either clay or gravel, and the water " ſo ſalt that we could not drink it. From thence to the village POCH-" LAKABA is 30 miles; the road lies on a plain, which is interſected by " ſeveral ridges of ſmall hills. The village DESORGE lay in our way at " the diſtance of ten miles, the road of gravel, and very ſtony. From " thence, at the foot of ſeveral hills, we travelled 15 miles to SEMNON, " where it is ſuppoſed Mr. GRÆME [a] was murdered. Aſcending the hills " we proceeded 35 miles to the caravanſerai AHUAN; thence travelling " over ſeveral hills and valleys for 24 miles, we came to the caravanſerai " KOSHAW, ſituated in an extended plain, on which are different villages " in a rich arable and well watered country.

" Leaving the road which leads to MAZANDERAN, we travelled 29 " miles over a fertile country to DAMGOON [b]. This has formerly been a " very neat town, but now three quarters of it are in ruins: the country from " hence is more ſtony and barren. Travelling under the mountains on the " north ſide of us for 33 miles, we came to DEMONLAH. The country " from hence to BEKEIST is well peopled and watered, and the ſoil rich; " from the laſt mentioned place the plain riſes with a gradual aſcent to " the hills on the ſouth. We travelled thence 40 miles to MEY A MEY; " our rout lay along the ſide of the hills, where we found a number of " people from KOUHESTAN, living in tents made of black hair cloths; " having travelled 50 miles we arrived at the caravanſerai of MEONDASHT. " From hence to ABASABAD is, with variety of ſoils, 25 miles: We

[a] This was the factor who firſt ſet out with JOHN ELTON. [b] Here was fought the memorable battle between the PERSIANS and the AFGHANS in 1719, which reinſtated TAHMAS. DE LISLE places this town much farther to the weſtward.

" paſſed

" paſſed ſeveral hills of a ſlaty copper-coloured ſtone, and advanced ten " miles to a river upon which is a bridge called PULABRISHIM, near " the village MEZINAN. The waters which flow from the mountains on " the north ſide are extremely ſalt, and come down with that impetuoſi- " ty as frequently to overflow the bridge. The country hereabout was " rich and populous, being covered with villages, and abundance of cattle. " We went on 23 miles to the caravanſerai TAVRIZE, which was new and " clean; from thence to the village MEHOR is 6 miles.

" Paſſing over a fertile and well-manured country through CHOSROGERD, " we advanced 18 miles to SEBSAWAR [d], which is a conſiderable walled- " town, and has a good market; from hence we paſſed over a plain, and " ſeveral ſmall hills, 33 miles to the caravanſerai SAFRANI: leaving this " place, and paſſing over hills and plains 21 miles to HAUZESINK, we " proceeded to an encampment, moſt of the people here living in tents. " Our next ſtage was 31 miles, through a populous country well watered, " and abounding in corn, to NISHABOOR, which we found well inhabited, " and in pretty good condition; and though ſmall, it has a good market- " place. From hence to KADEMGAH is 21 miles, through a country di- " verſified with hills and plains; near this place is a moſque covered with " blue-glazed tiles, which the PERSIANS hold in ſome veneration. From " hence there is a ſhort cut over the hills to MESCHED, but it is paſſable " only in ſummer. Our next journey was 21 miles over ſtony plains and " hills to the caravanſerai TIKIR DAVID; thence 21 miles over the " north part of the hills to the caravanſerai GUMBEZDIRAS; from thence " croſs ſteep ſtony hills 27 miles to the caravanſerai TULOOK; from " thence over a plain, it is 6 miles to MESCHED. The whole diſtance " from RESHD is 782 ENGLISH miles [e], according to the neareſt compu- " tation we could make from the hours we were on the road, always tra- " velling an equal pace."

[d] Here SHAH TAHMAS was confined.

[e] This ſeems to be rather too large a computation, unleſs we allow for a great circuit.

CHAP.

CHAP. LIV.

Extract of a journal[a] *relating to the rout of the* RUSSIAN *embaſſy into* PERSIA *in* 1746; *with a deſcription of the countries from* ASTRACHAN *as far as* DERBEND.

"HER imperial majeſty ELIZABETH PETROWNA, empreſs of all "the RUSSIAS, having been pleaſed to ſend an embaſſy to NADIR "SHAH of PERSIA, his excellency KNEZ GALITZEN received a commiſ- "ſion for this purpoſe.

"The preſents intended for the PERSIAN monarch, conſiſted of clocks, "watches, gold ſilver and PINCHBECK ſnuff-boxes, ſet with ſtones, or "emboſſed; toys, rich ſilks, brocades, embroidered works; twenty fine "horſes of ENGLISH, SPANISH, GERMAN, ITALIAN, TURKISH, and "PERSIAN breed: theſe were, for the moſt part, ſent by ſea to GHILAN. "The embaſſador had a coach, as well as riding-horſes, prepared for him, "and his retinue had ſeveral other vehicles for baggage, proviſions, "and water. The perſons appointed to attend the embaſſador were the "phyſician, ſurgeon[b], officers of the embaſſador's houſehold, keeper of "the chancery, ſecretary, writers, all in number eighteen; he had 30 do- "meſtics, a guard of two troops of horſe, and 60 fuſileers.

"His excellency departed from ASTRACHAN the 24th of September "1746, and croſſing the VOLGA, encamped on the weſtern ſide of that "river. The next day we directed our journey northward on the banks of "the VOLGA for about four werſts, and then turned to the weſt upon the "top of a ſandy hill covered on each ſide with lakes of freſh water; to "the ſouth of it there was plenty of graſs for our horſes. The moon riſing, "in the evening we decamped, directing our coaſt weſtward in a deep "ſandy road, leaving ſeveral lakes of freſh water to the ſouth-eaſt; and

[a] This journal being defective in ſome particulars, I have taken the liberty of inſerting ſome deſcriptions taken from other authorities equally good.

[b] Dr. COOKE, now a graduate phyſician in SCOTLAND, to whom I am obliged for the journal above mentioned.

"early

" early the next morning, the 26th, we pitched our tents near the lake " BAHUSHY, which is brackiſh water, having travelled about 30 werſts " from our laſt ſtage. The country here affords little more than worm- " wood, and ſuch like herbs, which delight in a ſandy and warm ſoil im- " pregnated with ſalt. The reeds which grow here ſerve as food for the " horſes of the KHALMUCKS, and other TARTARS, the leaves thereof be- " ing more grateful to them than graſs. Our road lying ſouthward, we " proceeded on our journey through a ſandy country, abounding in lakes " of brackiſh water; the banks have plenty of liquoriſh and marſh tre- " foil. In the evening we encamped near the lake BASHMACHAH, 70 " werſts from ASTRACHAN, where we fell in with a body of KHAL- " MUCKS, who had ſeveral droves of cattle; this put us under the ne- " ceſſity of doubling our watch, to prevent their ſtealing any of our horſes. " The weather was cold, and the wind raiſing the ſand and duſt, made " our journey painful.

" The 27th we encamped on the ſouth-ſide of a barren mountain, " with a lake of brackiſh water at the foot of it; and then directing our " courſe ſouthward, we travelled over a ſandy country to a lake of water " more potable than any we had yet met with; here the plains produce " graſs.

" The 28th, Juſt as the ſun appeared at the verge of the horizon we " encamped near the caravanſerai SIZELLEE, near which is a lake of po- " table water lying eaſt and weſt, where we filled fourteen large caſks. " At this interval we ſaw a great party of TARTARS riding on dromeda- " ries, and armed with ſabres, bows and arrows; alſo a body of KHAL- " MUCKS armed and mounted on horſeback; but they did not ſeem " inclined to interrupt our march. From this place we took our courſe " ſouthward over hills which abound in antilopes *. Thence we proceeded " to DEWRALY, which is covered by high ſandy hills to the north-eaſt " and ſouth-weſt. The reader will obſerve, that though here are a few " caravanſerais, the country has no fixed inhabitants. We now reckoned " ourſelves to be near 160 werſts from ASTRACHAN.

* The RUSSIANS and TARTARS call them SAIGON.

" The

" The next day we travelled 27 werſts, and were neceſſitated to encamp " on the top of a ſandy hill, having ſome marſhy ground below it, where " we found reeds and graſs, with a lake of brackiſh water to the eaſtward. " From hence we had an extenſive view of a deſert, on which not a " ſhrub was to be ſeen, and very little graſs.

" The 30th we departed from hence, our journey ſtill lying through a " a hilly and ſandy country, much the ſame as has been already deſcribed, " except that the ſand was browner, and, what neceſſarily drew our atten- " tion, was mixed with a great number of broken ſea-ſhells, which lay " in waves, as ſnow driven by the wind. We found here ſeveral ſprings " of freſh water, but ſo choaked with ſand, that they were of little uſe " to us. Here is alſo a great quantity of moor-fowl, whoſe feathers are " brown, and beautifully ſpotted with white, but ſo wild that we could " not kill any of them: the RUSSIANS call this place EDERGINE. Our " next encampment was on a plain, where we had not the relief of any " kind of water.

" October the 1ſt, we travelled 17 werſts, and encamped on a riſing " ground on the ſide of a lake of brackiſh water, which our cattle would " hardly drink. After paſſing the river KUMA, which is computed 350 " werſts from ASTRACHAN, the country is not ſo hilly; and as we advanced " ſouthward, it abounded more in verdure. The graſs we found here " was highly welcome to our cattle, which had ſuffered very much for " want of provender. We encamped near the lake ADACK, whoſe waters " are ſalt, and where the gnats were ſo numerous, that we were obliged " to make fires round our encampment, and ſuffer the inconvenience of " ſmoak, rather than of thoſe vexatious inſects.

" The 2d, we found freſh water, which our horſes had not taſted for " four days: here PETER the GREAT left three large bombs erected on " each other, as a kind of monument of his having paſſed that way, and " probably with an intent that the ſight of ſuch inſtruments of death " might give the roving TARTARS the higher idea of his military power. " From thence travelling to the hill ALI SHAH, we met a detachment of

" forty

" forty RUSSIAN dragoons from KISLAR, who brought with them ſeventy " horſes for the uſe of the embaſſador.

The 3d, Our courſe lay through a barren plain to the ſmall river BE- " KISHEFF MOYAK, on the banks of which the TARTARS report that " poiſonous herbs grow, which kill their cattle. Upon examination we " found it to be only the ſmall ſort of KALI[c]; and, to convince them of " their miſtake, ſome of us eat of it. The fact is, that horſes coming " from ASTRACHAN, and ſuffering extremely for want of graſs and water, " are by the unſkilfulneſs of their riders, ſuffered to eat and drink too " much. The whole country between ASTRACHAN and this place is " impregnated with ſalt, and ſome of the lakes are covered with it, inſo- " much that at certain ſeaſons it is thick enough to bear a man or a horſe; " thus if it is conſidered, what a quantity of undiſſolved ſalt muſt line the " ſtomach and guts of theſe animals, their blood-veſſels being alſo ſatu- " rated with it, it is eaſy to imagine what miſchief it muſt create, when " the veſſels come to be diſtended beyond their natural ſpring, at the ſame " time that many of their excretions are ſtopped up. We could not diſ- " cover that horſes coming from KISLAR are ſubject to the ſame miſ- " fortune as here, and by the precaution we took, though we had 350 " horſes, not one of them died.

"The 3d, we travelled on the banks of the ſmall river BECKECHAY, " which being covered with verdure, and the waters tranſparent, as the " ſmall rivers here for the moſt part are, afforded us great delight. This " country abounds with foxes, hares, and pheaſants. Hence we paſſed " the river BOROSDA, which being more conſiderable than the others, we " were obliged to uſe a bridge of timber, and incamping in a marſhy " ground on the ſouth-ſide of the river, the next day, the 4th, we arrived " at KISLAR, which is computed 500 werſts from ASTRACHAN.

"KISLAR ſtands on the river TERECK, ſometimes called the river KIZ- " LAR, though a barrier againſt the TARTARS, it is a very mean place: at the " weſt end of the old town there is a fortification with a deep broad ditch " flanked with counterſcarps. Here are commonly 500 ſoldiers from the

[c] Or ALKALI, glaſs-wort, the aſh of this is uſed in making glaſs and ſoap.

" garriſon of ASTRACHAN, and, upon ſome occaſions, three or four march-
" ing regiments, with four or five thouſand COSSACKS, who are CHRISTI-
" ANS, beſides CIRCASSIAN TARTARS[d]; the latter are commanded by their
" BEHURICH, or chief, and are the proper inhabitants of this country:
" they are a well-made people, particularly their women, who are alſo
" comely and chaſte. The men are reckoned more warlike than the DON
" COSSACKS, though they acknowledge that courage is leſs eſteemed
" amongſt them than in former days. They were conquered by IVAN
" WASSILOWITZ, but have been indulged in the uſe of their own religion,
" which is MAHOMMEDAN, they have two moſques a little weſtward of
" KISLAR, and alſo nine villages[e]. They acknowledge ſubjection to her
" imperial majeſty, to which they are very faithful, though they com-
" plain of the oppreſſion of the RUSSIAN governors who are ſet over them.

" About 30 werſts to the ſouth-weſt of KISLAR, on the firſt CIRCAS-
" SIAN mountain lying on the ſouth of the river TERECK, there is a well
" about 40 fathom perpendicular, from which iſſues boiling water
" into a ſtone baſon, which ſoon falls down a precipice near 30 fathoms
" into the TERECK, in ſufficient quantities to turn the wheel of a mill.
" The TARTARS convey it alſo into pits, and find great relief in many
" complaints from bathing in it. Amongſt ſeveral experiments which the
" ſurgeon made of this water, he found that after it was bottled up
" cloſe for a ſhort time, the ſmell of the naptha went off. Near this
" hill are ſeven ſprings of the ſame kind of water, and alſo one
" which appears to be impregnated with allom, being ſo acid and re-
" ſtringent as not to be borne long in the mouth. The ſurgeon made al-
" ſo an experiment of the heat of the well-water, by boiling a fowl in it
" in nine minutes; this ſudden coction ſeemed to be cauſed by the quan-
" tity of naptha, of which the water is impregnated, as is obvious from the
" ſmell of it. Not far diſtant there are ſeveral ſmall pits dug in the earth,
" in which there is ſalt of the utmoſt brightneſs and purity of colour,
" which diſſolves in the mouth inſtantaneouſly, giving a very pungent ſen-

[d] Part of the CIRCASSIANS of KABARDINIA are under the protection of RUSSIA: but the major part acknowledge the ſovereignty of the TURK.

[e] The RUSSIANS call their GREBINSKIE.

" ſation.

" ſation. Though the weather was now very cold, the warmth of theſe " wells of hot water produced near them the verdure and flowers of " ſpring, and a great concourſe of frogs. About half a mile weſtward of " this hill are 7 wells of naptha, in which the wild ſwine delight to lie; " the TARTARS uſe it for their lamps, and for the axle-trees of their " carts. At the back of theſe mountains are the CIRCASSIAN TARTARS, " of whom ſome are ſubject to RUSSIA; their country extends weſtward " towards the PALUS MÆOTIS. Of theſe, we were aſſured, ſome are " pagans, and worſhip a tree, and the head of a goat [f].

" January the 4th, 1747, after ſpending our time for three months as " well as ſuch a place would admit, having been much confined for fear " of the roving TARTARS; the embaſſador now received notice, that " an eſcort of PERSIANS, reported to be 12,000 men, was come on the " RUSSIAN frontier to meet him. We therefore ſet forward, and tra- " verſing a marſhy and woody ground, which the ſnow had rendered al- " moſt impaſſable, we encamped on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the ſmall river " BURGINE, where the RUSSIANS keep an advanced guard. The 5th, " the country being covered with ſnow, made our journey laborious. " Paſſing the river STZUTZJA, we encamped on the banks of the AXAN [g].

" Though it had frozen but four days, we paſſed over the ice on the " AXAN without the leaſt danger, and on the 6th arrived at a TARTAR " town under the RUSSIAN protection; though otherwiſe a kind of inde- " pendent ſtate. The prince of it was called ALI SHEFF: it ſtands on a " high bank on the north ſide of the river AHRAHIN, and contains about " 300 houſes; the walls of which are of clay whitened with lime. The " inhabitants are the moſt acute thieves in the world, inſomuch that the " utmoſt precaution we could uſe, was not ſufficient to prevent their pilfer- " ing us; and near to this is another TARTAR village ſubject to the RUS- " SIANS, called ANDREWSKA. The next day we paſſed the ford of AH- " RAHIN, which is about 300 paces broad, and the ſtream rapid: then

[f] A FRENCH miſſionary, whom I knew in PERSIA, offered to go amongſt theſe people; but he ſaid the RUSSIANS were jealous.

[g] By the RUSSIANS ſometimes called OXI and AYPOUS.

" directing our courſe eaſtward, we arrived near the antient SULAK, where " ſtood a fortification formerly belonging to the RUSSIANS [b]. On the " banks of the AHRAHIN grows plenty of ſhort wood, which is very hea- " vy, and the bark of it being taken off, is of a beautiful variegated co- " lour. Proceeding on our journey through a wood of oaks intwined " with vines, we reached the ſmall river TERSCALY, which is called the " boundary of the RUSSIAN dominion towards PERSIA; though we might, " with more propriety ſay, towards DAGHESTAN, the country of the " LESGEE TARTARS; for they have not acknowledged ſubjection to PER- " SIA. Here ſeveral PERSIAN officers, attended by a guard, came to " compliment the embaſſador on his arrival. This river, though ſmall, " is rapid, and even in the ſummer ſeaſon not fordable towards noon; for " as the ſtupendous mountains, which almoſt ſurround it, are ever covered " with ſnow, when the ſun acts intenſely, torrents of water fall from " them [i].

" The 9th, we encamped a ſhort mile from the PERSIAN ar- " my. A detachment of our COSSACKS being ſent for fuel, one of " them was ſhot dead through the body with a ſingle ball. The 11th, " we joined the PERSIANS, and marching under the mountains BISCHANS- " KY, we pitched our tents on a plain ground. The next day our road " was alſo on a plain, having ſome lakes of water on the eaſt, and lofty " mountains on the weſt. Several camels belonging to the PERSIANS " dropped with fatigue, and they either cut their throats, or ham-ſtrung

[b] " This fortification was intended to awe the CIRCASSIAN TARTARS as far as TARKU, as they " frequently made inroads into the lower countries. At BONACK the RUSSIANS built another fort, " with a view to preſerve the communication between RUSSIA and DERBEND. From thence to " SHABRAN quite to BAKU I never learnt that they built any fortifications, or that the LESGEE " TARTARS troubled them with any viſits. The country from KISLAR quite to REISHD was under " the RUSSIAN ſubjection, in conſequence of the conqueſt made by PETER the GREAT; it is " bounded by the mountains on the weſt, and by the CASPIAN on the eaſt. The chief towns are " TARKU, BUTNAK, DERBEND, BAKU, SITARA, KISKAR, and REISHD, and their dependencies. " Some of the inhabitants of the MOGAN plains, it is alſo ſaid, acknowledged the ſovereignty of RUS- " SIA, and paid ſome ſmall tribute.

[i] The gentleman who obliged me with the journal, being a north BRITON, takes notice that the highlands of SCOTLAND are but as mole hills to theſe mountains.

" them,

" them, that the TARTARS might not, on their recovery, receive any be-
" nefit.

" The 13th, Yeſterday and to-day we paſſed through ſeveral tracts of arable
" land, the road being indifferently good till we arrived on the north ſide of
" the mountain TARKU, whoſe ſummit appears like a table; its higheſt ſide
" declines towards the lofty mountains already mentioned; there is ano-
" ther large rock on the ſurface of it in an orbicular form: this is ſepa-
" rated from the other mountains by a deep valley. About two miles
" from the ſea is a beautiful plain; near the foot of the mountain were
" vineyards and gardens of fruit, which the PERSIANS entirely cut down
" for the uſe of the embaſſador and his retinue; alledging however that
" the TARTARS had killed or ſtolen 15 PERSIANS belonging to their
" body the night before; for though theſe villagers profeſs ſubjection to
" the PERSIANS, yet whenever an opportunity offers to commit any hoſti-
" lity in a ſecret manner, they ſeldom decline their antient cuſtom.

" On the declivity of this hill are three TARTAR villages about an
" ENGLISH mile diſtant from each other, which contained about 1000 ſouls;
" and notwithſtanding their vicinity, were in a ſtate of war. The TAR-
" TAR princes, who formerly extended their dominions as far as the black
" ſea, it is ſaid, choſe this hill as their reſidence, which is the more pro-
" bable from the ſeveral extenſive burial-places near it, where are many
" monuments of ſtone, with hieroglyphics expreſſing the characters and
" profeſſions of the deceaſed. In this place the LESGEES attacked PETER
" the GREAT in 1722, when he marched an army into PERSIA; and, ac-
" cording to ſome reports, they killed no leſs than 3000 RUSSIANS. Some
" part of the embaſſador's retinue went to the neareſt village, and were ci-
" villy treated; the TARTARS offered them two large loaves of bread, in
" exchange for a gun flint.

" The 16th, leaving TARKU, and paſſing over ſeveral ſtony hills, we
" pitched our tents on the high banks of the little river MANAS, and
" from thence through deep vallies, which made the journey tedious, into
" an open plain where the RUSSIAN army in 1722, was again attacked

" by

" by the TARTARS, who were ſoon repulſed. A detachment of them " now took their ſtand upon an eminence near BOYNAK. Not far from " this place the POLISH embaſſador, in his return from PERSIA in 1639, " having, by his fault or misfortune, quarrelled with the inhabitants, was " cut off with his whole retinue, three only excepted, who eſcaped into " PERSIA. Nor were the HOLSTEIN embaſſadors in leſs perplexity the " year before, when all their prudence and reſolution ſeemed neceſſary to " ward off the blow which they had reaſon to apprehend from the DA- " GESTAN TARTARS. Things indeed were now very differently circum- " ſtanced, not only with regard to the terror of the RUSSIAN arms in ge- " neral, but alſo of the neighbourhood of the RUSSIAN garriſons.

" The 17th we paſſed by an old PERSIAN caſtle, near which we view- " ed the plains where NADIR SHAH loſt a great number of his forces three " years before in the rebellion of SHIRVAN, in which the LESGEES took " part. This country is well ſtocked with wild hogs and elks; we killed " a very large boar that we rouſed in the midſt of our camp.

" The 18th, our courſe lay along the ſide of low ſandy hills to the eaſt- " ward of us, and we encamped in a plain where NADIR SHAH had built " a fort to awe the TARTARS, but it was now deſerted. Here we found great " plenty of game, as ſwine, deer, elks, hares, foxes, and ſhackals, with abun- " dance of partridges, pheaſants, quails, wild geeſe, ducks, and other fowls. " The next day we travelled over a country more cultivated; and paſſing by " a well of hot water, we pitched our tents on the declivity of DERBEND hill, " the city appearing about two miles diſtance. From hence are ſeen ſeve- " ral turrets yet perfect, which the PERSIANS pretend are part of a wall " built by ALEXANDER the GREAT, from hence quite to the black ſea. " The mountains here make a very aweful appearance, reaching above the " clouds, ſo that their ſummits are hardly viſible in the cleareſt weather.

CHAP.

CHAP. LV.

A continuation of the RUSSIAN *embaſſy. Deſcription of* DERBEND *and its confines. An account of the government, dreſs, religion, ſoil, trade, &c. of the* LESGEE TARTARS.

" THE 20th of January 1747, we pitched our tents under the ſouth-
" wall of DERBEND: the embaſſador would have preferred that ſi-
" tuation to the city, where he could not have accommodated all his guard
" and retinue; had there been no objection to their admittance.

" A city of ſuch great antiquity as this, and ſo often mentioned by hiſ-
" torians, deſerves more than common attention, eſpecially as it is the on-
" ly place now ſtanding upon the ſhores of the CASPIAN ſea, which has
" any thing to boaſt of. It is natural to believe, that hiſtorians often bor-
" row from each other, few taking the pains to examine into a fact, the
" reality of which no one has pretended to confute. The curious will find
" many circumſtances to incline their belief, that DERBEND was built by
" ALEXANDER the GREAT*. They do not however aſcribe the whole
" to him, but the higheſt and ſtrongeſt part which is to the weſtward.

This city has often changed its maſter, having been ſeveral times in the
" hands of the TURKS; the TARTARS alſo are ſaid to have had poſſeſſion
" of it. The RUSSIANS kept it for ſeveral years during this century; and
" now it is again in the hands of the PERSIANS. According to the neareſt
" computation, it is about 3 ENGLISH miles in length, but in breadth not
" exceeding half a mile. It extends itſelf from the verge of the ſhore
" due weſt up to the foot of a lofty mountain, the whole on a declivity;
" and its natural ſituation is ſuch as to form in ſtrict propriety, the gates of

* When PETER the GREAT returned from his PERSIAN war, the greateſt motive to triumph ſeemed to be the receipt of the ſilver key of DERBEND, which was delivered to him, and which in a pompous manner was carried before him when he entered MOSCO: and the foundation of DERBEND being aſcribed to ALEXANDER the GREAT, this gave occaſion to the following inſcription on one of the triumphal arches erected on this occaſion:

SerVXerat hanC fortIs, tenet
hanC, ſeD fortIor VrbeM.

" PERSIA on this ſide; for there is no paſſage to the weſtward without " going deep into the mountains, which are guarded by their proper inha- " bitants, who have not ſubmitted to the PERSIAN yoke. This place is di- " vided into three quarters, appropriated to different purpoſes, each having " their diſtinct walls, which ſerve alſo to render the ground more equal " on the declivity.

" The upper town, which is about half a mile ſquare, conſtitutes the cita- " del, and is incomparably the ſtrongeſt. As the PERSIANS have been in war " with the TARTARS for ſeveral years, they are extremely jealous; inſo- " much that ſome of the embaſſador's people, who approached the exte- " rior part of the walls of the citadel, were beat off with ſtones, and ſeveral " muſquets diſcharged at them. No perſon is permitted to enter it but " the ſoldiers which belong to the garriſon, except upon extraordinary oc- " caſions. The citadel has its diſtinct governor, with whom the other does " not interfere: they mount about 40 pieces of cannon; but what their " ſtrength otherwiſe was, we had no opportunity of obſerving.

" The walls of the middle town are about 30 feet high, near 20 feet " thick at the foundation, and 12 or 15 in the upper part, having a breaſt- " work of about 3 feet thick, and port-holes at convenient diſtances for " muſquets, or bows and arrows: It is defended alſo by about 60 flanking " baſtions, for the moſt part ſquare, but of greater uſe againſt the TAR- " TARS than they could be to oppoſe an EUROPEAN army. The walls are " made of a ſhelly ſtone, which appears to be a compoſition of ſea- " ſhells very ſtrongly cemented. How nature has produced theſe, or whether " they remained from the deluge, we muſt leave the curious to determine; " only obſerving, that ſuch ſhells do not appear on any of the CASPIAN " ſhores. It is certain however that the rocks about the town are of the " ſame compoſition, which, though hard as a ſtone, has a different pro- " perty, inaſmuch as a cannon-ball has no other effect, than to make an " impreſſion of its own diameter [b].

" The

[b] Captain WOODROOFE, from whom I take part of this account, ſays theſe ſtones in the out- ſide are for the moſt part of two or three tons in meaſurement, and ſome yet more weighty. They

" The gates of the city have very ſtrong and well-made arches, with " ſliding holes to ſhoot arrows, or throw down great ſtones on the enemy. " In the middle city they are not ſcrupulous of admitting foreigners. The " ſtreets are not regular, nor are they paved at preſent, though they have " been ſo formerly; many of the houſes are ſupported on one ſide by the " hill; but numbers are fallen down, and the greateſt part in ruins. It " is hardly poſſible to deſcribe the miſeries which this place ſuffered about " four years before, when NADIR SHAH came in perſon againſt the LES- " GEES; we ſaw a ſpecimen of it by the carcaſes of horſes, and other ani- " mals, which were ſuffered to remain in the ſtreets, and in ruined houſes. " We found alſo in this town about 500 men, whoſe eyes NADIR SHAH " had cauſed to be put out at one time. Here is a very magnificent moſque, " the roof of which is ſupported by 84 arches: NADIR SHAH converted it " into a magazine [b]; we went into it on horſeback without giving any kind " of offence. Here are ſeveral caravanſerais that belong to the ARMENIANS, " and are much the beſt.

" The eaſtermoſt part of the lower city is waſhed by the ſea, the riſing " of which has, of late years, made no ſmall impreſſion upon the walls. " Theſe are guarded by two round baſtions, without which there was for- " merly a harbour for ſmall veſſels. It was not till of late that this lower town " had any inhabitants; but NADIR, having built a palace in it, cauſed ſeveral " ſtreets of houſes alſo to be erected, with a view to eſtabliſh a conſidera- " ble commerce in the city, which he made a free port [c]. Here PETER " the GREAT eſtabliſhed his principal magazines; and the PERSIAN ſoldiers " now keep their flocks in this part of the city: but the TARTARS, ei- " ther by undermining or ſcaling the walls, frequently make incurſions in " the night in ſmall parties, carrying away whatever they meet with.

They are very well jointed, and regularly laid. OLEARIUS remarked in 1638, that a man might judge the wall to be built of the beſt and faireſt kind of free-ſtone; but coming near, he ſays they appeared to be " muſcle ſhells and pieces of free-ſtone beaten and moulded like brick, which time has " produced to a hardneſs beyond that of marble; " but there is no doubt they are of the ſame nature as ſome of the adjacent rocks.

[b] This is the building which rendered the TURKS ſo ſcrupulous of yielding up the city to PETER the GREAT.

[c] This ſeems to have been a well concerted ſcheme towards the reduction of the LESGEE TARTARS.

"The cruelties which are reciprocally exercised between the PERSIANS "and LESGEES are hardly to be conceived: such as are taken and suspect-"ed of being spies, have their eyes put out, and are turned out of the ci-"ty: many who are made prisoners in battle, have both their arms cut off, "and such as are taken in their flight have frequently their legs cut "off, and are left to expire in the field in these miserable circum-"stances, unless they are secretly and accidentally relieved by their coun-"trymen. The leaders of them they decapitate, and throw their heads "into a heap in the manner they pile shot [d].

"On the south side of DERBEND are many vineyards and gardens, which "are continued for near 8 miles to the southward; but these, as well as "their arable lands, have partaken the common fate of war. On both "sides of the city, on the declivity of the hill, are many antient burial-"places; and the PERSIANS report, that of these are not less than 40 belonging "to CHRISTIAN TARTAR princes, who have died fighting for their religion. "There are many antient tomb-stones, from 6 to 9 feet long, which co-"ver the graves, with inscriptions not intelligible to any of the present in-"habitants. The PERSIANS, who deal much in the marvellous, endea-"voured to persuade us, that these stones were cut in length exactly to the "stature of the deceased [e].

"As the neighbourhood of this city is the country of the LESGEE "TARTARS; before we depart from hence, it is necessary we should say "something concerning them, and the more as they are well known to "be some of the bravest people in the world. Their country extends "south from near the latitude of TARKU about 40 leagues, and 25 west-"ward. They are under several different chiefs [f], who, in case of dan-"ger to their common liberty, unite their forces. Some few of them have "been occasionally subjected to the PERSIANS; but the CARACAITA [g], "and their neighbours to the north and west of the PERSIAN dominions,

[d] Captain WOODROOFE, who was some time at DERBEND during the war with the TARTARS, makes this report. [e] According to WOODROOFE's account.

[f] The governors of districts, some of whom pay homage to the PERSIANS; those are called SCHEMKALLS. [g] A species of LESGEES so called.

"it

" it does not appear, at any period of time, that they have ever ſubmitted. " Indeed their ſituation is ſuch, with regard to the natural bulwarks of " their mountains, that ſo long as they retain their virtue, they can hardly " be enſlaved: their chief is called OUSMAI. OLEARIUS gives an account " of the humourous manner of their chuſing the SCHEMKALL. This is " done by the prieſt throwing a golden apple in a ring, round which the " candidates are ſeated, and the perſon whom it ſtops at, becomes their " ſovereign; but as they live under a kind of a republican government, the " diſtinction paid him is not very conſiderable.

" Theſe people are able to bring 30 or 40 thouſand men into the " field. The reſidence of the OUSMAI is about 30 ENGLISH miles north-weſt " of DERBEND. They have had frequent wars with the PERSIANS, and " laſtly with NADIR SHAH, who, with 15,000 men, purſued a large body " of them into the hills; but was at length glad to retreat, after ſuſtaining " a very conſiderable loſs. Several PERSIANS, who were taken priſoners " on that occaſion, were cruelly maimed in their noſes, ears, or eyes, and " ſent to NADIR with meſſages of defiance.

" Theſe people are often guilty of rapine, not only in the low-lands, " and in large bodies, but alſo in flying parties, pillaging the ARMENIANS " and GEORGIANS, whoſe trade brings them between BAKU and DERBEND; " otherwiſe they are often obliged to pay a heavy contribution for a ſafe " convoy. Theſe TARTARS are however remarkable in this, that if " any ſtranger travelling into their country, or on the borders of it, " ſeeks their protection, and chuſes a guide from among them, let him " meet never ſo ſtrong a party; it is enough if the guide declares that the " ſtranger is his gueſt; for they are hardly known to violate the laws " of hoſpitality in any inſtance of this nature.

" In their perſons they are well made, of good ſtature, and extremely " active: their countenance is ſwarthy, their features regular, and their " eyes black, and full of life.

" Their dreſs reſembles the GREEK or ARABIAN manner, many of " them wearing the ſame kind of drawers reaching down to their ancles.

"Their caps are not ſo lofty as thoſe of the PERSIANS, neither do all of "them wear their beards, ſome preferring whiſkers only.

"They live after the manner of the PERSIANS, profeſſing the MAHOMME- "DAN religion; but at the ſame time they talk very lightly of the pretend- "ed miracles of MAHOMMED; adding, that he was a very artful man, and "whether he has any particular intereſt with the ALMIGHTY, will be beſt "known hereafter. That they once profeſſed the CHRISTIAN religion, "ſeems to be in the higheſt degree probable. A FRENCH miſſionary [a], "who reſided ſome time in their country, affirms, that he found among "them ſeveral books relating to CHRISTIANITY. The ſame is confirmed "by the expedition which NADIR SHAH made, when, among other "ſpoils, he brought away divers books, ſome of which he had the curio- "ſity to order to be tranſlated; and from thence alſo it appeared, that "they had been CHRISTIANS. The PERSIANS will hardly be perſuaded "that they do not continue ſuch, ſeeing that they drink wine without re- "ſerve, and marry but one woman [b].

"Their vallies are exceeding fertile, producing plenty of wheat, oats, "and barley, with abundance of ſheep, whilſt their hills are covered with "vines, from which they make very good wine, and have great plenty "of it. Their country is for the moſt part very pleaſant. They are "ingenious in ſeveral manufactures of wool and camels hair; and none "of the neighbouring nations equal them in making fire-arms, which "they ſell to the PERSIANS. The ARMENIANS bring them dyed calli- "coes, and other manufactures of PERSIA, alſo rings, knives, and ear-rings "made in EUROPE, in return of which they receive madder [c]; alſo fire- "arms, and coarſe woollen manufactures; together with falſe PERSIAN "money; for as the coin of this empire is made ſmall and thick, it is counter- "feited exactly with very little ſilver. It is ſaid the ARMENIANS accept of this

[a] A JESUIT, with whom I was particularly acquainted in GHILAN, and from whom I received the greateſt part of this account.

[b] According to the miſſionary's account; others ſay that a plurality is allowed: ſo that I imagine they differ from each other in this particular in different parts of their country.

[c] A root which dyes red.

"coun-

" counterfeit for a quarter part of it's current value; however this may be, " it is certain there are great quantities of this money in PERSIA, not only " ſilver, but gold alſo. Theſe TARTARS trade likewiſe with the RUS- " SIANS with their madder, taking in exchange, ſhoes, boots, and cloathing " of dreſſed ſheep-ſkins."

CHAP. LVI.

Continuation of the RUSSIAN *embaſſy, with a deſcription of the tract of country from* DERBEND *to* BAKU, *and a ſuccinct account of this city.*

" THE 29th of January 1747. we left DERBEND, marching ſouth- " ward, the high mountain on which that city ſtands, being on the " weſt, and the ſea to the eaſtward of us: we travelled by ſeveral woods, " and over a ſmall river, and encamped on a plain 17 werſts from DER- " BEND. We had already, on the other ſide of that city, been much in- " commoded with ſhackalls; but here their howling was more intolera- " ble, when one begins, they all take the cry; however they do no other " miſchief.

" The 30th, We paſſed two very high ridges covered with graſs, which " the PERSIANS ſaid were the walls of a great city, once the reſidence of " the princes of the hilly country. From thence directing our march " through the ruins of a large town, a wood of oaks, and ſome arable " land, though now deſerted, we paſſed the URBAS, and ſeveral little rivers, " till we reached the SAMBUR, which is near a mile broad. The courſe " of this river is rapid, but we paſſed it without difficulty, and pitched our " tents on the ſouth banks, leaving behind us a ſmall fort on the north ſide. " Here we found great plenty of wild ſwine, hares, partridges, and pheaſants, " alſo a moor-fowl, the fleſh of which was very delicious. From thence " travelling through a country of rich ground well watered, and indiffe- " rently wooded for about 12 werſts, we paſſed through another town in " ruins: from hence the country is more ſandy.

" From

"February the 21ſt, We pitched our tents on the declivity of a hill, "having a caſtle to the ſouth-weſt. It was now clear weather and "hard froſt; we had the view of a very remarkable mountain, called the "SHAH's hill, from which the ſnow appeared in a great variety of hues. "The next day we paſſed many rivulets, ſix of which were not inconſide- "rable; their banks are well wooded with timber. We encamped near "the caſtle of SHIRVAN, where there was a garriſon of 500 PERSIANS. "The 3d, we paſſed not far from the ruins of a large city, ſaid to be the old "SHAMAKIE [*], and pitched our tents on the declivity of a verdant hill, "having the ſea at a ſmall diſtance to the eaſtward.

"The 4th, We arrived at the caravanſerai, which is eſteemed the firſt in "the PERSIAN dominions; from hence are to be ſeen the remains of ſome "old walls which run into the ſea. Near this caravanſerai is the peak "SPITZBERMACK, which in form reſembles a man's hand, and is of the "ſame kind of matter as the walls of DERBEND. Some of our compa- "ny made an excurſion to the foot of it, and thence up a ſteep hill to a fort, "which has a battlement round it of hewn ſtone. This runs on the ſouth "ſide of the rock till it forms the ſummit of a precipice, whoſe bottom "the hazy weather did not permit us to diſcover. There are ſeveral "ſquare holes, as if intended to throw down ſtones, and an arched vault, "of which part is broken down: from thence we climbed up about 30 "fathoms to the top of the peek; it forms near a ſemicircle, round which "we obſerved the remains of a wall. On the ſouth ſide there are above "100 ſtone ſteps, by which we deſcended, and found a ſmall ſquare plat- "form, ſurrounded with a wall of about 12 feet on each ſide; then go- "ing on northward, we ſaw nothing but a precipice, till the clouds inter- "cepted our ſight, though the ſky above us was ſerene. We then "paſſed between an opening in the rock to the weſt ſide, and came to a "ſmall ſquare, where we found a book in a niche of one of the walls, "the characters of which we apprehended to be ARABIC; the paper was "very hard and unpliable. This romatic ſcene, which is difficult to de- "ſcribe, the PERSIANS and TARTARS believe to be the reſidence of the

[*] NADIR SHAH removed the inhabitants to the weſtward over the mountains.

"prophet

" prophet ELIAS when he fled from AHAB. Near it is the burying-place " of ſome of the MAHOMMEDAN prophets. From hence appeared the " ſummits of many mountains raiſing their proud heads above the clouds. " We now returned the ſame way as we came to the head of the ſteps, and " obſerved at the ſouth end of the peak a pillar of ſtone of about 60 feet " high, and near 5 feet diameter, at the foot of which the rock was black " for ſome diſtance; the PERSIANS ſay there ſometimes runs a ſtream of wa- " ter. As the embaſſador and his retinue paſſed under the hill, we heard " a very confuſed noiſe, as coming from a great diſtance: upon our " diſcovery of ſome TARTARS, we reſolved to retire immediately. This " is ſaid to have been formerly a neſt of robbers; but the want of water " has diſlodged them: if there is a poſſibility of an impregnable caſtle, " this certainly might be rendered ſuch.

" The 5th, we travelled about 40 werſts, the moſt part through a bar- " ren and ſandy ſoil, but good road, leaving ſeveral ſprings of black nap- " tha to the weſtward, and encamped at the caravanſerai near NIEZABAD. " The 6th, we proceeded on our journey, paſſing by three caravanſerais " to the eaſtward, and ſix wells of white naptha at the foot of a hill, co- " vered with verdure on the north: the ſmell of the naptha was very of- " fenſive. We travelled over ſeveral rocks of brown ſoft free-ſtone, and " encamped on the north ſide of BAKU, remarkable for the beſt haven " on the CASPIAN. Here ſhips can lie moored head and ſtern, with their " heads to the ſea 40 fathoms off the ſhore, within the command of two " ſtrong baſtions, as alſo by the ſide of the wall of the northernmoſt baſ- " tion. In this city is a ſumptuous palace of hewn ſtone, which the RUS- " SIAN bombs in 1722 had contributed to reduce to the ruinous ſtate in " which we found it. The PERSIANS ſay, that as the TURKS made uſe " of it as a magazine, they will not repair it; but the truth is, they are in " no circumſtances to do any ſuch thing.

" The rebellion of 1743 did not coſt leſs than the lives of 15000 men, " to the province and the adjacent country of SHIRVAN. Formerly many " merchants lived here, eſpecially INDIANS and ARMENIANS, together " with ſeveral TARTARS; and, in the ſingle branch of raw ſilk, they

" uſed

" uſed to export 400 bales of 25 batmans each; but now they have ſcarce " any veſtiges of commerce.

" This city is ſaid to have been built by the TURKS: the fortification is " ſemicircular, and the two points of it are extended into the ſea. It is " defended by a double wall, of which the inmoſt is lofty for a PERSIAN " fortification. It has alſo a ditch and redoubts, which laſt conſtitute the " greateſt part of its ſtrength. Theſe were made by the RUSSIANS when " they were maſters of the city; but the PERSIANS are ignorant of the uſe " of them. The ditch has no communication with the ſea, being on dry " ground, as the place ſtands on a declivity; but they can fill it in 24 " hours by water which runs from the adjacent mountains. As all the coun- " try here is impregnated with ſalt and ſulphur, the water, though eſteem- " ed wholeſome, is very unpleaſant. The neighbourhood of this city ſup- " plies GHILAN, and MAZANDERAN, and other countries contiguous with " rock-ſalt, brimſtone, and naptha. It is the only place near the CAS- " PIAN that produces ſaffron, for which it is famous. They have alſo " red wine here of a ſtrong body and well-taſted, which the ARMENIANS " make at SHAMAKIE. The country abounds in hares, deer, and anti- " lopes; the fleſh of the laſt is delicious food. Round BAKU are ſeveral " lofty and cragged mountains, on which are very ſtrong watch-towers; " theſe ſeem to have been intended to give alarm, in time of war, of the " approach of the TURKS, or highland TARTARS; to the depredations of " both which this city has been often expoſed."

CHAP.

CHAP. LVII.

A ſuccinct account of the antient PERSIAN *religion, with ſeveral minute particulars relating to the everlaſting fire* near* BAKU, *and the extraordinary effects of this phænomenon, to which the* INDIANS *pay divine honours; alſo of the ſect called* MOUM SEUNDURAIN.

I Muſt beg leave to interrupt the journal of the embaſſy at BAKU, where an object preſents itſelf that reminds us of the antient religion of the PERSIANS. ZOROASTER, the founder of this religion, appeared about the year of the world 2860. This great philoſopher was ſtruck with the demonſtrations of the perfection of that ſelf-exiſtent being, who is the author of all good. Being at a loſs how to account for the introduction of evil into the world; he imagined there were two principles; one the cauſe of all good, which he repreſented by light; and the other the cauſe of all evil, which he figured to himſelf by darkneſs. He conſidered light as the moſt perfect ſymbol of true wiſdom and intellectual endowment; and darkneſs the repreſentative of things hurtful and deſtructive. From hence he was led to inculcate an abhorrence of all images, and to teach his followers to worſhip GOD only, under the form of fire; conſidering the brightneſs, activity, purity, and incorruptibility of that element, as bearing the moſt perfect reſemblance to the nature and perfections of the good deity. For the ſame reaſon the PERSIANS ſhewed a particular veneration to the ſun, which was founded on their belief, that it is the nobleſt creature of the viſible world, and that the throne of the almighty is ſeated in it. This good principle which they acknowledged to be the omnipotent creator and preſerver of all things, they called YEZAD, and alſo ORMUZD, which ſignify ſupreme. The evil principle they ſtiled AHARIMAN, i. e. the devil. Some have aſſerted that the antient PERSIANS held a coeternity of theſe two principles; but others, who ſeem better acquainted with the true tenets of this religion, agree that ORMUZD, according to the PERSIAN mythology, firſt ſubſiſted alone;

* As denominated by the INDIANS. The author of the journal of the embaſſy did not go to ſee this fire; but the concurrent teſtimony of many who did ſee it, puts the matter beyond doubt to me.

alone; that by him both the light and darkneſs were created; and that AHARIMAN was created, or rather aroſe from darkneſs. In the compoſition of this world good and evil being thus mixed together, they believed they would continue till the end of all things, when each ſhould be ſeparated and reduced to its own ſphere.

The antient PERSIANS erected no temples, but offered their ſacrifices in the open air, and generally on the top of a hill; for they eſteemed it injurious to the majeſty of the GOD of heaven, to ſhut up in walls, him to whom all things are open; whom the world cannot contain; who fills immenſity with his preſence; and to whom the whole earth, with regard to man, ſhould be eſteemed as an houſe or temple.

Between the beginning of the reign of CYRUS the GREAT and the end of that of DARIUS the ſon of HYSTASPIS, being about 600 years after the firſt ZOROASTER, whom I have mentioned, another philoſopher of the ſame name aroſe. This laſt undertook to reform ſome articles in the antient religion: he taught that there is one ſupreme, independent and ſelf-exiſtent being. That under him there are two angels, the one of light, who is the author of all good; and the other of darkneſs, who is the author of all evil. That theſe two, by a mixture of light and darkneſs, made all things which are. That they are in a perpetual ſtruggle with each other; where the angel of light prevails, there good reigns; and where the angel of darkneſs, there evil predominates. That this ſtruggle ſhall laſt till the end of the world, when there will be a day of judgment, in which all ſhall receive a juſt retribution according to their works: after which the angel of darkneſs and his followers ſhall be caſt into a world of their own, where they ſhall ſuffer for their evil deeds in darkneſs, which to all eternity ſhall be ſeparated from the light. But thoſe who cheriſhed and cultivated their ſpiritual nature, and obeyed the angel of light, ſhall go with him into a world, where, amidſt everlaſting brightneſs and triumphant glory, they ſhall receive the rewards due to their good deeds.

This laſt ZOROASTER, contrary to his great predeceſſor, cauſed temples to be built, in which the ſacred fires were ordered to be conſtantly and carefully preſerved.

Theſe

Theſe opinions, with a few alterations, are ſtill maintained by ſome of the poſterity of the antient INDIANS and PERSIANS, who are called GEBERS, or GAURS, and are very zealous in preſerving the religion of their anceſtors; particularly in regard to their veneration for the element of fire. What they commonly call the EVERLASTING FIRE, near BAKU, before which theſe people offer their ſupplications, is a phænomenon of a very extraordinary nature, in ſome meaſure peculiar to this country, and therefore deſerving of a particular deſcription.

This object of devotion to the GEBRS, lies about 10 ENGLISH miles north-eaſt by eaſt from the city of BAKU on dry rocky land. There are ſeveral antient temples built with ſtone, ſuppoſed to have been all dedicated to fire; moſt of them are arched vaults not above 10 to 15 feet high. Amongſt others there is a little temple, in which the INDIANS now worſhip: near the altar about 3 feet high is a large hollow cane, from the end of which iſſues a blue flame, in colour and gentleneſs not unlike a lamp that burns with ſpirits, but ſeemingly more pure. Theſe INDIANS affirm, that this flame has continued ever ſince the flood, and they believe it will laſt to the end of the world; that if it was reſiſted or ſuppreſſed in that place, it would riſe in ſome other. Here are generally forty or fifty of theſe poor devotees, who come on a pilgrimage from their own country, and ſubſiſt upon wild ſallary, and a kind of JERUSALEM artichokes, which are very good food, with other herbs and roots, found a little to the northward. Their buſineſs is to make expiation, not for their own ſins only, but for thoſe of others, and they continue the longer time, in proportion to the number of perſons for whom they have engaged to pray. They mark their foreheads with ſaffron, and have a great veneration for a red cow. They wear very little cloathing, and thoſe who are of the moſt diſtinguiſhed piety, put one of their arms upon their head, or ſome other part of the body, in a fixed poſition, and keep it unalterably in that attitude.

A little way from the temple is a low cliſt of a rock, in which there is a horizontal gap, 2 feet from the ground, near 6 long, and about 3 feet broad, out of which iſſues a conſtant flame, of the colour and nature I have

already deſcribed: when the wind blows, it riſes ſometimes 8 feet high, but much lower in ſtill weather: they do not perceive that the flame makes any impreſſion on the rock. This alſo the INDIANS worſhip, and ſay it cannot be reſiſted but it will riſe in ſome other place. About 20 yards on the back of this cliſt is a well cut in a rock 12 or 14 fathom deep, with exceeding good water.

The earth round this place, for above two miles, has this ſurpriz-ing property, that by taking up two or three inches of the ſurface, and applying a live coal, the part which is ſo uncovered, immediately takes fire, almoſt before the coal touches the earth: the flame makes the ſoil hot, but does not conſume it, nor affect what is near it with any degree of heat. Any quantity of this earth carried to another place does not produce this effect. Not long ſince eight horſes were conſumed by this fire, being under a roof where the ſurface of the ground was turned up, and by ſome accident took flame.

If a cane or tube, even of paper, be ſet about 2 inches in the ground, confined and cloſe with earth below, and the top of it touched with a live coal, and blown upon, immediately a flame iſſues without hurting either the cane or paper, provided the edges be covered with clay; and this method they uſe for light in their houſes, which have only the earth for the floor: three or four of theſe lighted canes will boil water in a pot; and thus they dreſs their victuals. The flame may be extinguiſhed in the ſame man-ner, as that of ſpirits of wine. The ground is dry and ſtony, and the more ſtony any particular part is, the ſtronger and clearer is the flame; it ſmells ſulphurous like naptha, but not very offenſive.

Lime is burnt to great perfection by means of this phænomenon; the flame communicating itſelf to any diſtance where the earth is uncover-ed to receive it. The ſtones muſt be laid on one another, and in three days the lime is compleated. Near this place brimſtone is dug, and naptha-ſprings are found.

The chief place for the black or dark-grey naptha is the ſmall iſland WHITOY, now uninhabited, except at ſuch times as they take naptha from thence.

thence. The PERSIANS load it in bulk in their wretched veſſels; ſo that ſometimes the ſea is covered with it for leagues together. When the weather is thick and hazy, the ſprings boil up the higher; and the naptha often takes fire on the ſurface of the earth, and runs in a flame into the ſea, in great quantities, to a diſtance almoſt incredible. In clear weather the ſprings do not boil up above 2 or 3 feet: in boiling over, this oily ſubſtance makes ſo ſtrong a conſiſtency as by degrees almoſt to cloſe the mouth of the ſpring; ſometimes it is quite cloſed, and forms hillocks that look as black as pitch; but the ſpring, which is reſiſted in one place, breaks out in another. Some of the ſprings, which have not been long open, form a mouth of 8 or 10 feet diameter.

The people carry the naptha by troughs into pits or reſervoirs, drawing it off from one to another, leaving in the firſt reſervoir the water, or the heavier part with which it is mixed when it iſſues from the ſpring. It is unpleaſant to the ſmell, and uſed moſtly amongſt the poorer ſort of the PERSIANS, and other neighbouring people, as we uſe oil in lamps, or to boil their victuals; but it communicates a diſagreeable taſte. They find it burn beſt with a ſmall mixture of aſhes: as they find it in great abundance, every family is well ſupplied. They keep it, at a ſmall diſtance from their houſes, in earthen veſſels under ground, to prevent any accident by fire, of which it is extremely ſuſceptible.

There is alſo a white naptha on the peninſula of APCHERON of a much thinner conſiſtency; but this is found only in ſmall quantities. The RUSSIANS drink it both as a cordial and medicine, but it does not intoxicate: if taken internally it is ſaid to be good for the ſtone, as alſo for diſorders of the breaſt, and in venereal caſes, and ſore heads; to both the laſt the PERSIANS are very ſubject. Externally applied, it is of great uſe in ſcorbutic pains, gouts, cramps, &c. but it muſt be put to the part affected only; it penetrates inſtantaneouſly into the blood, and is apt, for a ſhort time, to create great pain. It has alſo the property of ſpirits of wine to take out greazy ſpots in ſilks or woollens; but the remedy is worſe than the diſeaſe; for it leaves an abominable odour. They ſay it is carried into INDIA as a great rarity, and being prepared as a japan, is the moſt beautiful and laſting of

any

any that has been yet found. Not far from hence are alſo ſprings of hot water, which boil up in the ſame manner as the naptha, and very thick, being impregnated with a blue clay, but it ſoon clarifies. Bathing in this warm water is found to ſtrengthen, and procure a good appetite, eſpecially if a ſmall quantity is alſo drunk.

Theſe medicinal qualities, and the purity of the air, have formerly cauſed it to be frequented by numbers of PERSIANS, and other people of the firſt quality from the remoteſt parts; here are yet the remains of many ſtately buildings, and a large burying-place; one moſque in particular, which is very large, and has a ſtone-cupola.

I have already mentioned, that SHAH ABAS drove the worſhippers of fire out of PERSIA: they were then very numerous in ſeveral provinces, which have ever ſince been thinly inhabited. I heard of no towns or villages only GUEBARABAD near ISFAHAN, where there are any who openly profeſs that religion, except theſe miſerable pilgrims of whom I have been ſpeaking.

This religion, which has many marks of a ſpiritual diſpoſition in its votaries, ſeems to be no object of deteſtation, compared with that mentioned by OLEARIUS and Mr. OTTER. They give an account of a certain people, of whom there are yet ſome at SAHRIE [b], called MOUM-SEUNDURAIN, or extinguiſhers of candles. Theſe are the reverſe of the ROMAN matrons, who performed the ſecret rites of the BONA DEA, and with whom it was the higheſt prophanation to admit of the preſence of a man. Both ſexes are neceſſary to the rites of the MOUM-SEUNDURAIN: after eating and drinking liberally, in great ſilence and ceremony they put out the candles, and promiſcuouſly changing their places, throw aſide the diſtinction of rational creatures. Though MAHOMMEDANISM, beyond moſt other religions in the world, indulges its votaries in the idolatry of VENUS; yet this ſect has been perſecuted more than once, and is held in great deteſtation by the diſciples of MAHOMMED. I muſt now proceed to the continuation of the journal of the RUSSIAN embaſſy.

[b] Sometimes wrote SARI.

CHAP.

CHAP. LVIII.

Concluſion of the RUSSIAN *embaſſy, with a deſcription of the country from* BAKU *to* SHAMAKIE, *and from thence to* RESHD.

" HAVING tarried under the walls of BAKU for 6 days, and re-
" packed our baggage, the 12th of February 1747 we returned
" back the ſame way for about 6 werſts, and then directing our courſe
" ſouthward, we encamped in a ſandy valley, with a lake of ſalt water
" to the eaſt. The next day we paſſed ſeveral rivulets covered with nap-
" tha, with which the adjacent hills to the weſt abound: we pitched
" our tents near a caravanſerai on the ſea-ſide. The 14th we marched
" weſterly at the foot of a barren hill, and croſſed a ſtately ſtone-bridge
" of one arch, but there was no water under it. We obſerved a great
" quanity of ſea-glaſs * of a very choice quality. The weſtern proſpect
" was now continually bounded by lofty mountains: in one of the ſmalleſt
" we were told, that, ſome years ſince, there was a volcano; but at pre-
" ſent no ſmoke iſſued from it. To the north of us was a mountain,
" which ſparkled like diamonds, ariſing from the ſea-glaſs and chriſtals
" with which it abounds. We now directed our courſe north-weſt, the
" mountains intercepting our paſſage till we came to NAVAHY, the inha-
" bitants of which appeared to be in extreme poverty, and were encamp-
" ed about a mile to the ſouth. We perceived ſeveral beautiful women,
" ſaid to be the wives of the governor; as ſoon as they ſaw us, they hid
" their faces, and fled into an adjacent cavern. Our cavalry turned
" ſouth-eaſt over a very high mountain, where it was with ſome difficulty
" we could lead our horſes; but our carriages went round the north-eaſt
" end of the mountain. Having travelled about 80 werſts from BA-
" KU, we encamped at the foot of a mountain on the banks of a lake of
" freſh water, where the PERSIANS were met by ſeveral of their women,
" whom they had left at SALYAN, and other places on the banks of the
" KURA.

* Commonly called iſinglaſs, of which lanthorns are made.

" The

"The 16th we travelled through a ſandy and uncultivated country, "with mountains to the weſt, and lofty mountains to the eaſt of us. Vio- "lent rains having fallen on a clay-ground, the next day our camels, "horſes, and mules were extremely fatigued, inſomuch that we could not "travel above 15 werſts: we encamped on the ſide of a very large lake. "The weather clearing up, we found ourſelves ſurrounded with "mountains, whoſe tops are ever covered with ſnow. Theſe were inha- "habited by a TARTAR prince called SHEMACE [b], who, it is ſaid, cannot "bring above 5000 men into the field; and yet neither NADIR, nor his "greater predeceſſor ABAS, could ever reduce theſe people to ſubjection. "The former, though a wiſe prince, diſdaining that ſo mean a competitor "ſhould reign within his dominions, determined to reduce their chief; "and, contrary to advice, as well as to the experience of paſt ages, marched "20,000 men into theſe cold and inhoſpitable mountains, where it is ſaid "he loſt more than half of them. It is morally impoſſible to bring artille- "ry into this country; and if it was practicable, the TARTARS defend them- "ſelves with a number of forts, which, from their ſituation, are impregnable. "As their valleys are fertile, and produce abundance of grain, they are never "neceſſitated to expoſe their country to ſlavery, by their commerce with "the PERSIANS, or any other people. Their love of liberty is not be era- "dicated, and as they are in the higheſt degree jealous of it, they are con- "tinually on the watch to guard their paſſes, and to keep a ſtore of arms "and proviſion.

"The 18th we encamped on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of SHAMAKIE, be- "tween the city and a branch of the river BELAJA, the banks of which "are ſteep. The waters which fall from the mountains from the north- "weſt are troubled. The SHAMAKIE mentioned by hiſtorians, which is "ſaid to have contained 12,000 families, and many public and ſuperb "edifices, was certainly very different from this which NADIR SHAH re- "moved from the other ſide of the mountains, in hopes of keeping the "inhabitants in ſubjection. This city however appeared more rich and "populous than both DERBEND and BAKU; but, to the great amazement

[b] The general name of USDENALL is given to theſe chiefs.

"of

" of the embaſſador and his people, the PERSIAN army which convoyed " us, exerciſed their cruelties in ſo arbitrary a manner, that, in three days " time, the ſhops of the ARMENIANS, GEORGIANS, INDIANS, and TAR- " TARS, as well as of the PERSIAN citizens were either locked up, or " plundered, though we could not diſcover any other reaſon for it, than " that of the inſolence, inhumanity, and rapaciouſneſs of the ſoldiers.

" This city is a regular ſquare of near three miles in circumference, de- " fended by a ditch and a wall of earth, with a gate to the north, and an- " other to the ſouth. It has three paved ſtreets in the ſame direction, inter- " ſected by narrow lanes, with a ſquare in the centre, which ſerves as a " market-place, where we ſaw a few pieces of cannon. They have good " gardens, and their vineyards produce wine, as already mentioned. Be- " tween the city and the hills is a ſmall town, chiefly inhabited by AR- " MENIANS.

" We might have made our tract from BAKU much ſhorter, without " returning back ſo far northward, but no proviſion had been collected in " that rout; and as to coming directly from DERBEND to SHAMAKIE, " the highland TARTARS to the ſouthward of that city towards the " KURA, though they acknowledge ſubjection to the PERSIANS, ſubſiſt " too much by plunder, to be truſted.

" February the 28th, having ſtaid here ten days, as well to refreſh our " ſelves, as for other reaſons, we directed our courſe ſouthwards over a mar- " ſhy plain for 15 werſts. March the 1ſt, Our way lay through a ſandy " plain, where we pitched our tents on the north banks of the lake MUSA: " the PERSIANS, who yet remained with us, went over to the ſouth ſide. " In this place were ſuch a number of wild goats and pheaſants, that we " killed ſome almoſt at every ſhot. The next day we croſſed the mo- " raſs; the road being very bad we were obliged to repair it before it was " paſſable.

" The 3d, Early in the morning we marched 15 werſts, and encamped " on the north ſide of the famous river KURA, near the bridge of boats, " half a mile to the weſtward of which the ARAS and the KURA join

" their ſtreams, and run into the CASPIAN ſea. A little to the eaſtward " is a caſtle in ruins, though it was built ſo lately as the time of NADIR " SHAH. There is another on the ſouth ſide of the river; here is a circu- " lar pyramid of near 50 feet high; in which are niches filled with 282 " human heads of the late PERSIAN and TARTAR chiefs of the SHAMA- " KIE rebellion, who were all beheaded in one morning. Theſe TAR- " TARS had not acknowledged ſubjection to PERSIA, and yet they were " treated as rebels.

" The 4th, we paſſed the KURA[e] on a very mean bridge of boats held " together by an iron chain of about 500 feet long: This river has high " ſandy banks: directing our courſe ſouth-weſt, we encamped on the " banks of the ARAS. Here we found ſeveral ſmall villages, almoſt the " only ones inhabited which we had ſeen ſince we left BAKU; and theſe, " in three days time, were treated in ſuch a manner by our PERSIAN con- " voy, that many of the inhabitants were obliged to leave their houſes, " their wives and children to the mercy of theſe ſpoilers.

" The ARAS runs into the wide and extended plains of MOGHAN[f], which " reach near 180 miles from north to ſouth, and 60 from eaſt to weſt; they " are bounded on the north by the CAUCASUS, and the ſouth by the TAU- " RUS[g], having a hilly country to the weſt, and the ſea to the eaſt. Theſe " plains were formerly inhabited by ſhepherds, who lived in tents, and were " rich in herds and flocks; they profeſſed the religion of the MAGI, and lived " peaceable and innocent lives. This was alſo the great nurſery of PER- " SIAN cavalry, and where the ſovereigns of this country bred thoſe beau- " tiful horſes for which the PERSIANS were diſtinguiſhed. Theſe plains " abound in ſerpents of different ſpecies: in the hot months of the " ſummer the inhabitants are wont to retire with their flocks into the " mountains. They have plenty of wild ſwine, deer, and antilopes, with

[e] This word is alſo wrote MOGAN, and CHULI MOGHAN.

[f] It might perhaps have been more agreeable to ſome readers, if I had called the river KURA by its antient name CYRUS, and the ARAS, ARAXES; but as all modern maps adopt the modern names, I thought it moſt conſiſtent to follow their example, eſpecially as I have done the ſame with regard to other places.

[g] The names CAUCASUS and TAURUS are ſometimes uſed ſynonimouſly; but what the proper diſtinction is in different places I know not.

" various

" various kind of fowl, which we diverted ourſelves in ſhooting. NADIR " treated the inhabitants with great ſeverity; either diſperſing, deſtroying, " or ſending them to KHORASAN.

" The 15th, A report prevailed in our camp, that the LESGEES, between " DERBEND and BAKU, had made inroads into the low countries, and defeat- " ed the PERSIAN forces; alſo that they had ſeduced the inhabitants of SHA- " MAKIE to join them. Whatever grounds there were for this alarm, the " embaſſador decamped with ſome precipitation. We marched 20 werſts " over hard ſmooth ground, and encamped on the banks of a ſtanding wa- " ter which communicated with the KURA. We ſhould have made our " march longer, but that we found great ſcarcity of cattle for our carriages.

" The 16th, We marched ſouth-eaſt 22 werſts through theſe deſerted " plains, which now were extremely delightful, abounding in graſs and " flowers, with great plenty of phyſical herbs: they are alſo refreſhed by " ſeveral ſmall rivers which run into the CASPIAN ſea. We encamp- " ed on the banks of a lake of freſh water: the day following " we paſſed by ſix remarkable round hills, and encamped on the foot of " another, 20 werſts from our laſt ſtage. The 18th, we directed our courſe " ſouth-weſt, where a ridge of high mountains, covered with ſnow, pre- " ſented themſelves to our view; our road lying over a riſing ground be- " decked with clover, and ſeveral kinds of herbs. The banks of the river " ILCHAY are high and ſandy; the ſtream, though ſomewhat rapid, is " clear; it abounds in fiſh of the ſize of a common trout, of a ſilver colour, " with ſmall excreſcences on their heads like horns. We encamped on a plain " on the ſouth ſide of the river, near a ſmall inhabited village. We then " directed our courſe due ſouth through a marſhy ground overgrown with " reeds and brambles, paſſing by ſeveral habitations, cultivated lands, and " gardens abounding in fruit-trees; ſuch as almonds, figs, apples, plumbs, " and cherries: theſe being now in their bloſſom afforded no ſmall delight, " though this day's journey was very fatiguing.

" The 19th, We travelled through marſhy lands well wooded, croſſing " many ſtreams, over which we were obliged to make bridges; and en-

" camped on the river KEZILAGACH. The weather was now ſerene, and " the ſun warm, though the nights were very cold. The next day the " ſcene was much the ſame as on the 18th, and gave us much plea- " ſure. As we proceeded ſouthward, the ſpring ſeemed to make great ad- " vances every day. In travelling, the novelty of places alſo, when the heart " is at eaſe, exhilarates the ſpirits, as it were, by a more peculiar benignity " of providence.

" The 23d, The great difficulty we found in procuring the cattle, " which were neceſſary for the embaſſador's uſe, obliged us to tarry till " this day: we then marched through marſhy grounds and lofty woods, " where alſo grow many wild fruit-trees. From thence our road was on " a cauſe-way, made by SHAH ABAS the GREAT, as well for the facility " of marching an army, as to ſupport the communication and trade of " theſe parts. Having marched 20 werſts we encamped on the north " banks of the river LANKAR.

" The 24th, Our march lay on the ſea-ſhore, which is ſandy. The " country to the weſtward, under the mountains of GHILAN, is ſo thick " of wood, and marſhy, as hardly to be paſſable at this ſeaſon of the year. " Vines, pomgranates, and orange-trees are alſo in great abundance: we " encamped on the ſide of a lake.

" The 25th, Our march on the ſea-ſhore was very laborious, on account of " the fluid ſands: we forded the river ASTARA, ſituated in the province of " the ſame name, whoſe governor is independent of that of GHILAN or SHIR- " VAN. This province is rich in grain, fruits, and ſilk-worms; but the " air is unwholſome. On the hills to the weſtward are the remains of " a fortification built by the RUSSIANS; here are ſeveral ſmall villages " meanly inhabited, and the houſes in a ruinous condition; the inhabitants " of the neighbouring mountains having frequently committed hoſtilities " in theſe low lands. The 27th, our road lying partly on the ſea-ſhore, " and partly through woods and marſhy lands, we paſſed many rivers and " rivulets, gathering oranges and pomgranates, which we found in great " plenty, but neither of them delicious in flavor. The 31ſt, the roads " continuing the ſame, made our three days marches very ſhort. April

" the

"the 1ſt, our courſe lay on a cauſe-way, with deep ditches on both ſides, "meeting with a great number of ſmall rivers, in which this country a-"bounds; at length we pitched our tents on the banks of the LESAR, "near which there is a large plain.

"The 2d, This day exhibited a ſcene of deſolation in the number of ruined "villages, through which we paſſed, though the ſoil appeared to be extremely "fruitful. This country alſo abounds in timber intermixed with fruit-trees, "and vines, whoſe grapes are ſaid to produce good wine. We paſſed no leſs than "16 ſmall rivers, and encamped near the town of KESKAR. Here we found "a great body of OUSBEG TARTARS belonging to the PERSIAN army, "who had permiſſion to live at diſcretion, till the inhabitants ſhould pay "a heavy contribution, which the SHAH had impoſed on them. Some of "theſe TARTARS gave proof of great virtue and moderation; whilſt others "violated matrons and virgins with a ſavage licentiouſneſs, often killing "not only the men who oppoſed them, but the women alſo. This town, "and the diſtrict of the ſame name, is under the juriſdiction of the go-"vernor of GHILAN, whoſe reſidence is at RESHD. Not long ſince this "place was remarkable for the quantity of raw ſilk it produced, and "for many ſilk fabrics; but the oppreſſion of NADIR's government ſeem-"ed to have involved every thing in one common ruin. Near this place "we ſaw the ruins of a fort which the RUSSIANS had formerly built to "prevent the incurſions of the neighbouring mountaineers.

"The 3d, As the embaſſador now eſteemed himſelf ſecure, with regard "to the rebellion towards the KURA, and near the end of his journey to "GHILAN, he halted. The 4th, we marched 20 werſts, through delightful "woods and gardens; and croſſing ſeveral rivulets over ſtone bridges, we "encamped on the HALKALAJAN, whoſe banks are very pleaſant.

"The 5th, the country ſtill continued pleaſant; we marched over two "rivers and a lake, and the day following the embaſſador made his en-"trance into RESHD."

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

CHAP. LIX.

A coaſting pilot, containing a particular deſcription of the coaſts and ports of the CASPIAN *ſea*[a].

I Shall conclude this account of PERSIA with the following deſcription of the coaſts and ports of the CASPIAN ſea, extracted from captain WOODROOFE's coaſting pilot. The ſubject has ſome connexion with what has been ſaid in the 22d, 23d, and 24th chapters of this volume; and though it may be barren of pleaſure to thoſe who delight neither in commerce, geography, nor navigation; yet as this ſea has merited the attention of hiſtorians; and the BRITISH nation never had any accurate information concerning it, we may preſume that the following account of its navigation will not be ungrateful to ſome readers. The original papers of captain WOODROOFE, from whence this deſcription is extracted, are more verboſe, but do not contain any thing material that I have omitted.

"From ASTRACHAN to YERKIE is 60 ENGLISH miles: the channel is for the "moſt part pretty good, except juſt below IWAN CHUK, where, at low water, there "is only 8 feet at moſt. Ships formerly entered and cleared out at YERKIE; but "that place being now almoſt overflowed, is left in ruins, and the office removed "to SADLISTOVA, about 2 leagues to the northward.

"Near YERKIE is the iſland CARAZA, where all goods imported are landed, and "ware-houſes built for their reception in quarantain; and ſhips lay off for the "ſame purpoſe. There is generally 7 ½ feet water on YERKIE bar, but upon extra-"ordinary winds it riſes to 9 or 10 feet. In order to ſail over YERKIE bar, and down "to CHETIRIE-BOGORIE, after you get to the lower part of the river below YERKIE, "and are paſt the reeds, ſteer out a little weſterly; or if the weather be clear, and "ſhews CHETIRIE-BOGORIE, keep the land open; then ſailing over 7 ½ feet, "you find a bottom of hard ſand for near half a mile, and it deepens to 2 and "2 ½ fathoms. If you come to anchor in 2 ½ fathoms, run it about two cables

[a] See Chart Chap. XX.

"length

" length to the weſt towards a little red cliff on the iſland of CHITCHEENA, where there " is 3 fathoms water, and a good holding ground with black mud and ſand.

" All the coaſt is very low and marſhy, and the air over it being generally hazy, " it is difficult to diſtinguiſh places. From YERKIE all veſſels take their de- " parture, and this place they alſo make when homeward bound.

" GOUFNA-SEROTKA lies about 9 leagues to the ſouthward of YERKIE, and near " it is generally two fathoms water; but on the middle ſand, which lies off CHE- " TIRIE-BOGORIE from ſouth ſouth-eaſt to ſouth ſouth-eaſt half ſouth, at the diſ- " tance of near 8 leagues is only 8 feet water. It muſt be remarked, that as low " as CHETIRIE-BOGORIE there is generally freſh water, except after a gale of ſouth- " erly wind. On leaving the bank of GOUFNA-SEROTKA, the ſea deepens ſo as " you cannot find a bottom with any line.

" In this ſea there are no tides; but hard gales of wind either from the north " or ſouth, raiſe the water 3 or 4 feet, and ſometimes more, and when theſe " gales ceaſe, the water returns to its ordinary depth, with a prodigious current, " and confuſed ſea. It muſt alſo be obſerved that it is the ſame on the PERSIAN " coaſt as on the RUSSIAN; but rendered ſtronger and more irregular on the latter, " by the ſtreams which iſſue from the VOLGA, IAMBA, and YAEIK. This occaſions " the loſs of many veſſels; for the force of theſe currents is apt to deceive. Captain " WOODROOFE, after his firſt voyage, inſtead of heaving the logg, made uſe of deep " ſea-lines, and the heavieſt lead; for the lead remaining ſteady, diſcovered his " courſe more exactly. It is alſo to be noted, that, on the north-coaſt, the ſound- " ings begin before you enter much into theſe contrary currents, which are gene- " rally occaſioned by the wind coming from the oppoſite points of north or ſouth. " The RUSSIANS loſe many veſſels on the ſholes of the north coaſt for want of at- " tention and ſkill. Theſe veſſels when laden, generally draw 9 or 10 feet wa- " ter; and as they run into 11 or 12 feet before a ſouth or ſouth-eaſt wind, " which frequently raiſe a tumbling ſea, it muſt neceſſarily endanger their ſecurity. " This might be eaſily prevented by keeping to the eaſtward towards KARA- " GANSKOI, or the iſland of KURALIE, in all which are very ſafe roads.

" As the land both at CHITCHEENA and KULALIE is low and marſhy, and " ſpring and fall are generally attended with great fogs; the unexperienced navi- " gator muſt be on his guard, particularly on the weſt coaſt, where he muſt keep " his lead going; and when he comes into 35 or 40 fathoms water, then he muſt " edge into 30 fathoms: as he approaches CHITCHEENA the ground is ſhelly,

" with

" with a light [illegible]. Then hauling out north north-eaſt, or north-eaſt by " north, he will paſs over a clean white ſand, which runs out ſouth eaſt from " CHITCHEENA into 12 and 15 fathoms water. The nearer he approaches to " TOOLEENA the ground is blacker, but about 5 leagues to the eaſtward is a clean " grey ſand without mud.

" The diſtance between CHITCHEENA and TOOLEENA is about 9 leagues, 8 of " which are a good channel: but it muſt be particularly remarked that TOO- " LEENA is rather a ſhole than an iſland; for when the water is high, nothing but " reeds appears upon it, and in turning to windward it is not adviſeable to ſtand " nearer either to it or CHITCHEENA than in 3 fathoms water. If neceſſity obliges to " run between the point of land and CHITCHEENA, keep pretty cloſe the point, be- " cauſe on the other ſide there is a ſhole which runs a great way, and a little ſpot " that is quite dry.

" At DERBEND there was formerly a landing-place for goods, but it is now " under water. This is the worſt port, if it may be called ſuch, in the whole " CASPIAN ſea, not only with regard to the loading and unloading of boats on the " ſhore, but from the ſtony foul ground in the road.

" On the weſt coaſt you ought to keep the lead* as ſoon as you make DERBEND. " When on ſhore you will find hard ſtony ground intermixed with cockle and " muſcle ſhells in about 30 or 40 fathoms.

" From May to September there are ſeldom any hard gales of wind, and there- " fore ſhips in DERBEND road bringing the lower end of the ſouth wall to bear " due weſt, may lie in 7 fathom water, which is about ½ of an ENGLISH mile from " the ſhore. Here is a clean ſpot of ſandy ground for at leaſt 2 cables length " every way; but in winter it is not adviſeable to come nearer than 1 ½ mile in 11 " fathoms, and to lie as near the middle of the two walls as poſſible, where the " ground is not altogether ſo bad: but there are many looſe ſtones very hurtful " to cables, ſo that care muſt be taken not to lay too ſlack moored, that the va- " riable winds which blow on this coaſt, and the counter currents which ſome- " times ſhift ſeveral times a day, may not do miſchief. It is always found the " beſt method to lie at ſingle anchor, and to have your ſails furled with rope " yarn, ſo as to be ready on any emergency. It is never obſerved, that the " eaſterly winds blow above 2 ½ points from the ſhore.

* Sea-phraſe for throwing.

The

"The next port is NIEZABAD, by others called NIEZA
"clean holding ground of ouze and ſand. Between this and SPITZBERMA
"remarkable rocky hill near the ſea-ſide. The RUSSIAN charts mention
"called the DWA BRATIE[b]; but captain WOODROOFE ſays, he traced that place
"very often without finding them.

"The RUSSIANS and PERSIANS often paſs through the ſtreights of APSHERON
"between SWETOI and the main; this is very ſurprizing as the paſſage is dange-
"rous, and they have 30 leagues of good ſea-room between ZELOI and the
"eaſtern main. If the navigator is under a neceſſity of going between SWETOI and
"the weſtern main, there is a good channel through it with 3½ fathoms clay
"ground for near half a mile wide: but on both ſides are many rocks, ſo that
"there is no venturing except by day-light, and taking proper care to keep the
"lead. On the ſouth ſide of ZELOI there is good anchoring-ground, and pro-
"tection from the northerly winds; care however muſt be taken of a ſhole
"that runs eaſt ſouth-eaſt from this iſland, which riſes pretty bold, and has
"white cliffs on the ſouth ſide; in clear weather they may be ſeen at the diſtance
"five or ſix leagues.

"Being bound from the northward to BAKU, it is neceſſary to give the great
"SHAH's bank a good birth[c]; then haul in about weſt north-weſt for the en-
"trance of the bay, which lies between the iſland NARGIN and a little fiſhing-
"town: on a bluff point on the weſtern main, is a clear channel of ſeven fathoms
"near a league over. Veſſels ſometimes go to the eaſtward of NARGIN; but the
"rock of DAVERISH, as well as ſeveral ſholes which were formerly iſlands, toge-
"ther with the ſmall depth of three fathoms, render that channel dangerous. On
"the eaſt ſide of the bay of BAKU they dig ſalt and brimſtone, and coaſting
"veſſels receive their loadings. In the mole of BAKU is two fathoms water. This
"may be denominated the beſt, if not the only true port in the CASPIAN ſea.

"The iſland BOULLAH lies to the ſouth-weſt of BAKU; to the eaſt and ſouth
"there is about 10 fathoms water; but to the weſt is a bank of ſand from the
"weſtern main, which is almoſt dry.

"SWINOY is a bold iſland about four leagues from the weſtern main; but
"there are two rocks near the north end of it. The ſhole of ſand, called the little
"SHAH's bank, is about 6 miles long, and 2 broad, and has only 14 feet water.
"The ſoundings round it are very gradual, and as you approach it, the ground

[b] As expreſſed in the ſea-chart. [c] Sea-term for keeping at a diſtance from land, in allusion to room in a ſhip, for which this term is alſo adopted.

mud to ſand. The iſland KURA, though low, is very ſteep ſides. About 3 leagues ſouth-eaſt by ſouth from this iſland is a rock the water's edge, which, at a diſtance, reſembles two boats. Neither the " RUSSIANS nor the PERSIANS in my time were acquainted with them; and it is " more than probable that many veſſels, in their paſſage from the river KURA to " BAKU, have been loſt upon this ſpot, ſo as never to have been more heard of. " This river has at the entrance two fathoms water, and is a general rendezvous " for all PERSIAN veſſels going to, or returning from BAKU. Coming in with " the coaſt, navigators ſhould have a particular care to avoid a bank of ſand " about 5 leagues to the weſtward of ENZELLEE, where it is only 11 feet water. " The proper place for anchoring in ENZELLEE road, is to bring the ſtore-" houſes on the weſt ſide of the bar to bear ſouth ſouth-weſt, and to run into " 10 or 12 fathoms water. Captain WOODROOFE frequently obſerved, that in " coming from the northward with a hard gale of wind at north, on his arrival " on this coaſt, it has veered to the north-weſt, the ſouth eaſt, or, as generally " happens, to the weſt; ſo that when the wind is north at ſea, the veſſels in this " road, having it in the points juſt mentioned, lie in the trough of the ſea, and " ride in a very diſagreeable, as well as inſecure manner.

" The river SEFEETROOD having ſeldom above 3 feet water at its entrance, is of " no uſe to ſhips, though there is a very good depth within the bar. As a rapid " ſtream runs from this river into the ſea with a great eddy, it is not proper to " hold nearer than 7 fathoms water, though there is 5 or 6 fathoms within three " quarters of a mile from the ſhore. If you get into this eddy with little or no wind, " there is great danger of being driven a-ſhore to the ſouthward, and many a PER-" SIAN veſſel has been loſt in calm weather. About 4 miles up the SEFEETROOD a " ſmall channel runs into the lake of ENZELLEE, and ſerves as a paſſage for boats; " but at very low water they are obliged to hall them over a ſhole for about 40 " yards. Were it not for this inconvenience, there would be communication between " PERAYBAZAR and RUDIZAR for loaded boats without the neceſſity of going " to ſea. To the ſouthward of SEFEETROOD there is a cove, the entrance of which " is near a cable's length with two fathoms water; and as there is the ſame depth " within, 12 or 15 ſail of ſhips might lie land locked with the utmoſt ſecurity.

" The next port is LANGAROOD cove, which is about 2 ½ miles from eaſt to " weſt, and about one from north to ſouth. As it has 10 or 11 feet water, it " would ſtand one of the higheſt in rank, were it not that the entrance is ſo nar-" row, that it muſt be buoy'd before it is attempted. LANGAROOD road is how-" ever much frequented: the beſt place to anchor, is to bring the point on the

" ſouth

" fouth fide of the bar to bear fouth-weſt by weſt, and the [illegible]hill
" weſt fouth-weſt running into 7 fathoms water, where there is clean [illegible]
" ground 1 ½ mile from the ſhore. It muſt be obſerved there is a ban[illegible] of ſand
" which extends itſelf from SEFIETROOD about 3 leagues to the bottom of this
" bay. On the edge of this bank about 20 fathoms there is ſoft mud. The
" river which runs up to the town of LANGAROOD, is about a cable's length to the
" weſtward of the ſouth of the bar, and is almoſt concealed with reeds. Its courſe
" is north-eaſt There is a ſhole of 7 feet, but it afterwards deepens to two fa-
" thoms.

" ALEMMAROOD, or, as it is ſometimes called, OBEASKY, is a ſmall village to
" the eaſt, with a river navigable for boats drawing 4 feet water. By means of
" the lakes, it communicates with MESCHEDIZAR: off which you may anchor in 9
" fathoms water in clean ground.

" The next place is FARABAD, on the eaſt ſide of the bank of a little river.
" Off this town one may anchor in 10 fathoms water in good ground; however
" the beſt of theſe roads on the ſouth coaſt are but diſagreeable, as there is generally
" a ſwell from the ſea. The wind is generally weſterly; when it comes from the
" eaſt point, it is very moderate, and attended with pleaſant weather even in the
" midſt of winter. The navigation of the ſouth-eaſt part of the CASPIAN from
" FARABAD TO ASTRABAD bay is very ſafe and eaſy, the ſoundings regular, and
" the ground clean. The palace of ASHEREFF, which is built with ſtone, is a
" good land-mark, and may be ſeen a great way at ſea.

" Coming either from the north or weſt, the ſureſt way to ſail over ASTRABAD
" bar into the bay, is to bring the lower point of land on the weſt ſide to bear
" ſouth-weſt at 1 ½ mile diſtance. In calm weather it juſt appears above the wa-
" ter, and when there is any ſea, the breakers are viſible: ſteering in ſouth ſouth-
" eaſt ſoutherly till that ſpit of ſand bears due weſt, then ſteering ſouth and ſouth
" by weſt, you may anchor about a mile to the weſtward of the entrance of the
" river KORGAN; but in going into KANDAGASAR road, it is neceſſary to obſerve
" a ſpit of ſand which runs about half a mile from the mouth of that river. The
" bar has 11 to 12 feet water, with hard ſand for about a mile, then deepens to
" 3 ½ and 4 fathoms, with a bottom of ſoft clay. If the weather prevents the
" ſight either of the ſpit of ſand, or breakers on the weſt ſide of the bar, run with-
" in a mile of the eaſt main, which is eaſy to be ſeen, ſteering in ſouth and ſouth
" by weſt: there is the ſame depth all over the bay, which is from two to four

" fathoms

...the ſpring and fall of the year. There is a ſmall low iſland covered with reeds, which appears to the north-eaſt of ASTRABAD bar, very near the eaſt main; there is not above five feet water round it; but a league to the weſtward is two fathoms.

"From the bar of ASTRABAD to the ſouth end of the iſland OGRUJINSKOI, or, as the PERSIANS call it, IDAK, is 32½ leagues, ſteering north-weſt by north half north. The deepeſt water in that tract is from 7 to 10 fathoms, ſoft ground, but 10 leagues to ſea there is 35 fathoms water, deepening gradually. The channel between the north end of IDAK and the weſt of DEVERISH is near a mile and a half wide, with three or four fathoms water; the north end of IDAK lies under water, and is terminated by an eminence, which appears as an iſland. Between the eaſt end of DEVERISH and NAPHTONIA there is another channel, which is very narrow. You have good ſhelter between NAPHTONIA and OGRUJINSKOI, either from the north-eaſt or weſt, with the advantage of putting out to ſea with any wind. The beſt water is cloſe to the iſland DARGAN, where there is clean ground; but the north ſide of it is ſtony. DAGADAW is a little high iſland about two cables length from the north main, and full two fathoms water round it; the anchorage is ſo ſecure, that the ſhip might be moored to the iſland, and a ſtage built from her on ſhore. A little way from this iſland there are two large rocks above water; three or four leagues further you have but nine feet water, and at the foot of the mountain only five. The points on the north ſide of the entrance of this lake conſiſt of high red cliffs which form a ſand or gravel of the ſame colour waſhed from it, and from thence it is called KRASNA-WODA[a]. Within that point the banks are all high rugged rocks, the reſt lying under water[b].

"Concerning the lake KARABOGASKOI, it muſt be obſerved, that all the eaſt-coaſt from KRASNA-WODA to cape KARAGANSKOI is a ragged ſhore and rocky ground; in many places there are high rocks at a diſtance from the ſhore, which appear as iſlands; but prudence forbids a near approach to them.

"In the latitude of 43 there ſeems to be a large inlet behind ſome high rocks; but we never had occaſion to make a diſcovery of it. From 42 to 43 degrees there is a ſand-bank 8 or 9 leagues broad, and 20 leagues in extent; on it there is about 25 fathoms water, which always appears diſcoloured.

[a] Which in RUSSIAN ſignifies red water.

[b] A more particular deſcription of BALKHAN is contained in chap. XXXIV.

"Cape

" Cape KARAGANSKOI, and the iſland KULALIE, are already mentioned: in the " former there is good ſhelter from ſouth and ſouth-eaſt winds, and the latter has " a very good harbour, where there is 10 or 11 feet water, with clean ſandy " ground. This iſland is barren and uninhabited; but the harbour is the general " rendezvous for all the RUSSIAN veſſels, which load fiſh at the YAEIK for " KISLAR and DERBEND. There are ſeveral ſmall iſlands to the eaſtward of " KULALIE; but we never had any opportunity of ſurveying them.

The END of the FIRST VOLUME.

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